

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The League's Business

Financing Program Launched

The program to finance the League on a more adequate scale was launched at a meeting of the Executive Committee May 23. The following members were present: Charles Edison, president; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; George Arents, Frederick L. Bird, Henry Bruere, Philip H. Cornick, Arnold Frye, C. G. Hoag, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Lawson Purdy. Also present were: Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary; John Rich, consultant; John E. Bebout and William H. Russell, of the staff; John Venable, assistant to Governor Edison.

Major developments were as follows:

1. Members pledged a total of \$8,750 in personal, corporate or other subscriptions.
2. President Edison was authorized to appoint a chairman and members of a finance committee.
3. Members of the Committee pledged themselves to cooperate in obtaining bona fide prospective contributors and to work toward the New York area's share of the total budget goal of \$110,000.

What the League Means to Me

by Charles Edison, President

Remarks before the Executive Committee meeting of the National Municipal League, May 23, 1947.

LET me begin by saying I think we have about the most vital civic job in the country. I have spent a good deal of time with organizations that deal with national problems and world problems, but the more I have had to do with people and organizations spending all their time and energy on some global issue the more convinced I have become that they are working largely in a vacuum. They are too remote for citizens to appreciate fully the importance of what they are driving at and to accept personal responsibility for what has to be done.

Most of us still live in something that can best be described as a home town. The most important people to us are the people we meet every day

in our homes, where we work, where we play. It is just as true today as it was 150 years ago that if we are going to make democracy work we have to make it work where neighbors share concrete problems and can talk them over face to face. I don't see how we can reach sound conclusions on global questions if we cannot deal effectively with the problems in our own backyards.

The solutions of world problems must be understandable and acceptable to the people, not as citizens of the world but as citizens of "Home Town, U.S.A."

The politician who said the tariff is a local issue wasn't anywhere near as dumb as the professors have painted him. From a human point of view he was right. Whether or not we will raise or lower economic barriers will depend on how the people in their home towns think it is

going to affect them in their work and their pocketbooks. The same thing is true of the expenditure of large sums of money for rehabilitation of broken down countries in Europe and Asia. It is true with respect to the handling of displaced persons.

We found out during the war and also during the depression that great national projects and programs fell down badly if we tried to run them strictly by directives from Washington. They became workable almost in direct proportion to the amount of local initiative and responsibility that went into their planning and execution. Furthermore, the effectiveness of such local planning and participation depended to a considerable extent on the kind of local government and on the habits of citizen responsibility that already existed in different places.

Since the war we have been experiencing the greatest revival of local civic interest and responsibility in our lifetime. In my travels around the country I find people still believe in their home towns and are more anxious than ever to make good on that faith.

I am reminded of a trip I took back in the early 1930s. That was when brokers were jumping out of Wall Street windows and leading bankers were about ready to turn everything over to the great white father in Washington if not back to the Indians.

But I found that ordinary businessmen, labor leaders and citizens in the cities and towns around the country still believed in the future and were

ready to dig in and do something about it. To be sure, they needed some guidance, some assurance that others in other sections were bearing their share of the load, some assistance which would not destroy personal and local initiative but would give it an opportunity to get the wheels in motion.

I am not comparing our present situation with that of the depression. In some respects it is more serious. The way we meet it may have infinitely more effect for better or for worse on the future of the country and the world.

Ever since I began to devote a considerable amount of my time to public affairs I have been looking for the most effective ways to repay my personal debt to the American system. We all owe a great deal for the privilege of being Americans. We thought it was worth fighting two world wars for. It is certainly worth every ounce of any other kind of effort required to preserve and strengthen it.

That is where the National Municipal League looms very large in my picture. I think I have found the organization which more completely than any other provides the tools needed if we are to pass on to the next generation anything like the opportunity and benefits we have enjoyed.

There is considerable hope in the character of the present civic revival. Not only are more people than ever interested in problems of government, but their interest is on a high level of intelligent thinking. Only a few years ago there was a general tendency to solve all our problems by

emotion. We wanted a brightly-colored, sugar-coated pill that would relieve us of any earnest consideration of facts. Government by emotion certainly has not disappeared, but there is a remarkable tendency of many, many citizens today to face the facts, and to act on the basis of facts.

It is in such an atmosphere that the patient work of League volunteers and staff pays off in a most constructive way. The League is the only organization I have been able to find that has the reputation, the skill and the blueprints required to meet the current demand for real live ammunition for the civic battle. There is a world struggle of political ideologies and let us not make any mistake. This local civic battle may be the pay-off.

As I have looked into the League's record, I have been impressed by the way in which it supports the principles of initiative, self-help — democracy in action. It has never lost its original character as an organization of citizens, created by citi-

zens, to help them help themselves to better state and local government.

I am glad that in this age of multi-billion-dollar public budgets and multi-million-dollar organization budgets the League has continued to rely more heavily on the work of volunteers than on the magic of dollars.

It is a most impressive record that over the years the work which went into our arsenal of model laws and administrative systems represents at least three dollars worth of volunteer expert effort for every dollar in the budget. Actually, that is an understatement of the proportion of volunteer to paid work. I say that because the League's real work, the real effort generated by the League, is local volunteer effort by citizens stimulated and guided by the League to correct abuses and to make their state and local governments more effective and more democratic. The value of this guided local effort, immense as it is in dollars, cannot be measured only in such terms.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A City Efficiency Bureau

THE city of New York, blushing a bit over its first billion dollar budget, is establishing a new bureau to keep continuous check on the efficiency of operations in all departments.

It's a safe guess that millions of dollars of waste could be cut from a budget this size and that thousands of the nearly 200,000 employees could be dropped without injury to services. No operation, public or private, is immune from the development of bad habits. And the officials of even a well run city (which New York has been for some years) are subjected continuously to so many anti-efficiency and selfishly based pressures that a tendency toward diffusion and disintegration is inevitable.

A check, either continuous or periodic, certainly is in order not only in New York but in every other governmental operation of any size.

The question has been properly raised, however, whether the desired ends can best be achieved by establishment of a new bureau. It has been pointed out that the city's bureau of the budget is supposed to be equipped to prune departmental waste, that the mayor has quite a staff in his own department, that he has a commissioner of investigation who has been pretty successful in turning up evidence of corruption now and then.

There are other pertinent questions. Would an efficiency bureau appointed by the mayor be handi-

capped in taking stock of other of his appointees? Would such a bureau, no matter how appointed, be able to be completely objective and severe in its judgment if it were part of the administration at all?

Experience elsewhere, at all levels of government, suggests a negative answer. Even some state departments which are supposed to exercise close control over operations of their municipalities seem inclined to tread softly and keep in mind the discomfort which might arise from inviting the resentment of one local official after another.

City councils and state legislatures once were looked on as the natural guardians of the public purse but they have turned out to be weak watchmen too sensitive to the urgings of self-seeking pressure groups.

In some places a comptroller or other financial officer has power to control spending and the tools with which to do it. In the city of New York, for example, the city comptroller used to have a bureau of municipal investigation and statistics which helped him be a fairly effective curb on administrative extravagance.

Then New York, like many other cities, went to the executive budget, which concentrates responsibility where the people can see it, and was developed as a brake on reckless spending. Now, as is apparent from the laudable effort being made by New York's mayor, it is not enough either.

New Yorkers might be startled by the suggestion that the nation's biggest city could learn something from Kalamazoo. Many of them wouldn't even know that Kalamazoo is a notably well run community of 55,000 in Michigan.

This is the lesson Kalamazoo can teach New York: Efficient as its government has been for the last 30 years, Kalamazoo calls in *outside* consultants periodically to look operations over, check methods against best practice, expose sloppy procedures before they become bad habits, recommend improvements.

Outsiders have no inhibitions, personal or political. They have reputations to preserve. The best of them would welcome the opportunity to do a real job on a big city where spectacular results would be obtained. Their criticisms would be less embarrassing to the administration than they would be coming from its own appointees. In the long run they would be less costly than a permanent bureau.

This is not to say the mayor *can't* get good results with his new bureau. But better results would be more likely if he called in the doctors from outside the family.

A Good Piece of Education

TOLEDO is telling its taxpayers, interestingly and in effective detail, what they are getting for the local income tax enacted last year.

For example, a recent issue of *The Toledo City Journal*, published by the city's Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, points out with text and pictures that rubbish collection is a newly established service paid for from the one per cent levy on income earned within the city. The city does the job more cheaply than those hired privately by householders used to do it.

Subsequent articles are promised about other improvements, services and rehabilitation of equipment.

This is a smart and constructive idea.

Back in depression days the taxpayers of one city howled so loudly that the city council cut taxes by eliminating garbage collection. The health department promptly threatened to arrest anyone who permitted garbage to accumulate. Private contractors reaped a rich harvest and cost householders much more—until the service was restored.

When taxpayers know how and for what their money is being spent they are less resentful over the tax burden, especially if they realize they are receiving benefits which would cost them more on any alternative basis.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GOVERNMENT

will be held in

NASHVILLE

November 12, 13, 14, 1947

SAVE THE DATES!

PLAN TO COME

City-County Merger Proposed

Citizen legislative advisory commission uses effective plan to study Birmingham and Jefferson County problems.

By ROSCOE C. MARTIN*

HERE in Birmingham, Alabama, people are talking about the problems of local government as never before. They aren't all saying the same thing about these problems, to be sure, though considering the subject discussed currently there is an astonishing measure of agreement. That subject concerns the extension of the limits of the city of Birmingham, then the consolidation of the governments of Birmingham and Jefferson County. The extension of municipal limits and city-county consolidation are, of course, separable subjects, though the people of Birmingham are inclined to give the two joint consideration.

The occasion for all this discussion is the report of a citizens commission, made public April 14, which recommended: (1) that the city limits of Birmingham be extended to cover all contiguous and adjacent urban territory, incorporated and unincorporated, residential and industrial, subject to a vote of the entire area affected; (2) that the government of Jefferson County and Birmingham, with its limits as extended, be consolidated, subject to a county-wide vote; (3) that the school system of Jefferson County and the school system of Birmingham, with

its limits as extended, be consolidated into one system with a tax rate for school purposes equivalent to that levied by Birmingham.

The legislature of Alabama in 1945, at the request of the Jefferson County legislative delegation, passed an act "to create a commission to study and report to the legislature on certain questions with respect to the government of counties having a population of more than 400,000," and the municipalities and school systems contained in such counties. Inasmuch as only one county in Alabama answers to the legal description, the measure was in effect a local act applying to Jefferson County.

The act provided for a legislative advisory commission, to consist of 24 citizens of the county serving ex officio. Among others included as members of the commission were the presidents of the bar association, the two local colleges, the county medical association, the chambers of commerce and the junior chambers of commerce of the cities lying within the county, the county-wide organization of the American Legion and the parent-teacher associations in the several cities; representatives of labor organizations; two citizens chosen by the county commission; and one citizen chosen by the commission of the largest city in the county.

As will be clear from this partial enumeration, the commission members were selected in such a way as

*Dr. Martin is professor of political science at the University of Alabama and director of the university's Bureau of Public Administration. He has been serving as executive secretary of the commission whose work he describes here.

to make the body as a whole independent of control by any one group or any likely combination of groups.

Pursuant to the statute, the legislative advisory commission met early in November 1945, selected a chairman and an executive secretary, and otherwise perfected organization. As executive secretary it named the director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama who, serving without pay, proceeded forthwith to set up a research staff. This staff, which operated under the direction of a full-time, paid director of research, varied in size from time to time, but was sufficient to give the director approximately the equivalent of two full-time research assistants for the duration of the study.

Commission Begins Work

The commission was financed by an appropriation (provided by the legislature) of \$6,000 from the general fund of the county, an appropriation of a like sum prorated among the municipalities of the county on a population basis, and sizeable (though not accurately computed) contributions from the university's Bureau of Public Administration in the form of staff time, funds for travel and stenographic service.

The legislative act provided that the commission should meet "not less often than once each 30 days" until its final report should have been made; and meet it did once a month, and toward the end oftener, from November 1945 to April 1947. Average attendance for these approximately twenty meetings was about seventeen out of a total membership of 24, and

when a particularly important subject was to be discussed as many as 22 of the 24 attended.

The law had directed the commission to find the answers to three specific questions, but that body concluded, on the advice of its technical staff, that it could not answer the three questions specifically asked until it had placed itself in a position to answer many more besides. It instructed its staff, therefore, to make as wide and intensive a study of government in Jefferson County as limitations of time and funds would allow.

With this charge in hand, the research staff blocked out a survey which would cover with reasonable thoroughness every important aspect of local—city as well as county—government save only the courts, which as state agencies were omitted.

The research staff adopted the practice of drawing up and mimeographing one memorandum, dealing with one important problem of local government, per month, and the commission then made that memorandum the subject for discussion at its monthly meeting. These subject matter memoranda numbered 25 all told. The discussion of one memorandum—toward the end it was sometimes two or even three—each month by the commission had the effect of keeping that body close to its research staff both in information developed and in its thinking as to possible solutions of the problems treated.

The research staff made its summary report of findings and recommendations to the legislative advisory commission on February 28, 1947, and the commission thereupon began

a series of open public meetings on the staff's report. In a matter of six weeks the commission concluded that the point of diminishing returns had been reached on its program of public hearings, and on April 14 it made its recommendations to the Jefferson County legislative delegation and the legislature of Alabama.

Findings, Recommendations

Briefly, the story developed was the familiar one of a county dominated by an industrial metropolitan district, and indeed by a single large city; of "fringe" clusters of population, incorporated and unincorporated; and of inadequate measures for coordinating the efforts of the county's 25 units of local government.

Everywhere the staff turned it came face to face with these inescapable conclusions: first, Jefferson County and the city of Birmingham dominate the local governmental scene, in services rendered, in numbers employed, in money spent, and in the thinking of the citizenry; second, the Birmingham metropolitan district is a readily recognizable cultural, social and economic unit whose natural boundaries in many instances cut squarely across the artificial legal limits of the cities; third, the county and the city for half a century have maintained the tradition of examining and settling their problems on a broad-gauged rather than a purely local or partisan basis; and fourth, if on the one hand it is not too late for the Birmingham district to avoid the evils which beset such larger and more populous communities as Boston and Chicago, on the other it is

not too early for the citizens of Jefferson County and particularly of the Birmingham area to bestir themselves to a critical examination of their many problems. These problems, the staff repeatedly urged, can be solved now; 25 years from now they may be, or may seem, quite beyond solution.

The recommendations of the research staff to the commission called first for measures which would improve existing governmental structure and practice without instituting basic changes. Among these the improvement of county government—specific recommendations were made—and the extension of Birmingham's boundaries may be mentioned.

A major proposal would be more far-reaching in its effects. Basic to all serious thinking about local government in Jefferson County is and for years has been the problem of the relationship between the county and the city of Birmingham. The research staff early recognized this as a fundamental problem and examined with care the various alternatives available. It went over in detail, first on its own responsibility and later with the commission, the possible application to the Jefferson County-Birmingham problem of city-county separation, the creation of a city-county covering substantially the Birmingham metropolitan district as defined by the census, institution of the "federated city" plan, and consolidation of the county and the city, either "as is" or with extended limits.

The staff came to the conclusion that, of the alternatives examined, the last was the most tenable, and

it presented a proposal to the commission calling for the consolidation of the governments of Jefferson County and the city of Birmingham.

While the legislative advisory commission was not able to accept in their entirety the recommendations of its research staff, it did approve many if not most of the essentials. Its major recommendations have been summarized above. It is sufficient to note here that the three chief resolutions of approval were adopted by votes of nineteen to three, nineteen to three, and twenty to two.

Publicity Good

The commission's recommendations received wide and immediate notice. The three metropolitan daily newspapers, which had given the commission and its work strong support from the beginning, came through with vigorous endorsements of the whole plan. Speakers discussed the program, pro and con, before luncheon clubs and other civic groups, and before radio audiences as well. The program received the enthusiastic approval of such divergent groups as the Birmingham Industrial Council of the CIO and the Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce. Public reaction was of course not uniformly favorable, though beyond question a very large percentage of the voices heard favored the proposed program.

Meanwhile, the Jefferson County legislative delegation, comprising seven representatives and one senator, had followed the work of the legislative advisory commission closely and had devoted a great deal of time and study to that body's conclusions. The impression which this work had made

on the delegation became clear when the legislators requested the commission to prepare, for study by them, bills and proposed constitutional amendments which would effectuate its recommendations. No promise of action, of course, was implied in this request, though it was clear that Jefferson County's legislators were deeply interested in the proposals.

If the Jefferson County experience contains lessons of general interest, they would seem to flow principally from the role played by the legislative advisory commission, a citizen group, in approaching solutions to the problems of local government.

The commission, many of whose members were unacquainted among themselves at the outset, welded itself into a working organization through the device of monthly meetings and detailed discussion there of carefully prepared memoranda. It retained the services of a research staff to do its technical work, and it approached a concert of opinion by going through the detailed problems step by step in consultation with its staff. Yet, in the final analysis, the commission exercised its own judgment in determining which of the staff's proposals to adopt and which to reject.

The net result is a series of recommendations, approved by all but unanimous vote, which are neither so mild as to be of no value nor yet so far out in front as to stand no chance of adoption. The acclaim heaped upon the members of the legislative advisory commission proves that a prophet can serve with honor even in his own country.

If at First You Don't Succeed

Citizen efforts to secure increased funds for St. Paul schools and teacher salaries rewarded on fourth attempt.

By WILLIAM P. TUCKER*

MUNICIPAL reform is not dead—only sleeping fitfully. This was shown in St. Paul by the four charter amendment campaigns carried on by its citizens in the twelve months ending April 15, when opposing sides spent some \$50,000 to sway voter opinion on the question of providing adequate funds for city services. Vested interests and civic lethargy played their parts, with lethargy in the lead.

St. Paul is unique in several ways. Its public schools have languished under administration as a regular department of the city government. All services have been hampered by a \$30 per capita charter limitation on spending—not taxing.

The crisis deepened last summer, when it became evident that many school rooms could not open with regular full-time teachers in the fall. In July the first of four elections was held. Five amendments were presented by petition under the stimulus of the PTA and other groups. Proposed were a \$34 per capita limitation—up from \$30, a change in the ceiling on bonded indebtedness, a shortened work week for firemen, and improvement of status for the superintendent of schools.

A sixth amendment was presented

by the charter commission,¹ giving the city power to levy new taxes and spend \$4 per capita from such sources. Many regarded the sixth amendment as a red herring; its effect was to confuse the issues and aid in defeating all proposals.

A second election was held on November 5, seeking a \$34 limit on spending, and an \$11,612,000 bond issue for major improvements. This time teachers and sympathetic groups, incensed at the apparent major emphasis being placed on capital expenditures and aided by public apathy, again caused the amendments to fall far short of the 60 per cent favorable vote required for passage.

By this time the school administration presented the alternatives of a teacher pay-cut or closing of kindergartens or some other school service. This announcement, plus rising prices, depression-level salaries and grossly inadequate school plant and supplies, lent encouragement to strike plans among the city's 1165 teachers, a majority of whom were unionized in the American Federation of Teachers.

From November 25 to December 28 St. Paul presented the nation's first large-scale teachers' strike, which closed all schools and aroused much local citizen support and comment throughout the nation.

*Dr. Tucker is professor of political science and director of the library at Macalester College in St. Paul. He was formerly state librarian for the state of Washington, active in developing legislative reference and research work.

¹Minnesota cities are unusual in having continuous charter commissions which are appointed every four years by the district judges.

While the teachers demanded better pay—\$2400 to \$4200 for those with a bachelor degree—they also called for adequate equipment, buildings, supplies and more teachers to eliminate the overload. Then followed four weeks of negotiation, seeking emergency funds for the rest of the current year and a charter amendment to provide permanent financial relief.

Spearheaded by the more active Protestant ministers, the PTA and leaders of organized labor, a series of overflow public hearings with the city council urged that body to provide emergency funds for the schools and other city services. After numerous tumultuous hearings the charter commission agreed to call an election on a \$4,700,000 emergency bond issue and a \$12 per capita increase in the limit on spending. In return the teachers suspended their strike on December 28. Eighteen dollars of the per capita maximum would be available for education and \$24 for other departments.

Then came the six-weeks campaign for approval of the amendment and the bond issue under the leadership of the Citizens Committee for School and Civic Improvement—a group that gives promise of furnishing permanent and constructive leadership in a continuing program of municipal progress. Starting in the early days of the strike, under the leadership of a few liberal ministers, the citizens committee soon had more than 700 dues-paying members, many of whom were unofficial representatives from a wide variety of civic organizations. The

committee has functioned as an action group in its own right and served as a central coordinating agency for the other groups favoring a charter change.

After exercising influence in securing an end to the strike and presentation of the amendment, the citizens committee and associated groups led the campaign for adoption of the measure. Prominent among these organizations were the American Legion, its auxiliary, the League of Women Voters, the PTA, the Methodist Ministers Association, the St. Paul Council of Churches, Jewish groups, the AFL, the CIO, local college faculties and college teachers' organizations.

Committee Organization

The citizens committee, which is broadly representative of the community's interest groups, has an executive board of about 30, which has a smaller steering committee, including the officers and principal committee chairmen.

Chairmen and committees were established on finance, membership, organization, research, general publicity, speakers, radio, strategy and house-to-house campaign.

Some \$8,000 in membership fees and donations was raised to support the February 11 campaign. The research and publicity committees collected and compiled the latest data from cities throughout the country, and prepared pamphlets, broadsides and numerous newspaper advertisements.

The speakers committee provided for numerous talks and debates before a variety of organizations. Six

or seven hours of free radio time were secured by the radio committee for similar representations on the air.

Most dramatic of all was the house-to-house campaign of some 3,000 volunteer workers under a director, four division chairmen and some 60 school neighborhood chairmen. Regular training sessions were held for the block workers, where methods and procedures were suggested and voters' questions anticipated.

One special interest section was established, a business and professional men's group. Weekly luncheons were held to which members brought their friends who were potential supporters.

Ways and Means

Many of the well known propaganda devices were used by the citizens committee and allied groups in their radio, newspaper advertising, speaking and pamphlet publicity. Both the "testimonial" and "plain folks" devices found frequent use, as well as the call to climb on the "band wagon." The "glittering generalities" device, naturally, found frequent use. The "chamber of horrors" device was used most effectively, because physical and other conditions in the city's schools lent themselves admirably and legitimately to its use. Commendably little use was made of "card stacking" (unfair selection of data presented).

Newspaper advertisements gave varied presentations, including financial comparisons with other cities, the "testimonial" device—giving the broad backing of the committee, and some human interest approaches—"Your Children Deserve a Chance."

To business there was special emphasis on the point: "Can You Run Your Home or Your Business on a 1923 Budget? Can You Expect St. Paul to Do So?" While the ethics of the opposition was occasionally impugned: "Should the Profits of This Small Group Obstruct the Progress, Welfare and Education of our City and its Children?"

Allied groups, such as the Teachers Joint Council and the American Legion, placed considerable newspaper advertising. The teachers spoke to labor effectively in terms of their small weekly "take home" pay. The legion used both the patriotic theme and comparative teacher salary data in its ads. Announcements and short talks were given in the churches, especially on the Sunday preceding the election.

Like most reform movements, the citizens committee has had its share of individualists who have not always contributed to the smoothest sailing. A decided shortcoming on the proponents' side was lack of effective liaison between the Teachers Joint Council and the citizens committee.

Among the proponents only one group made a regrettable descent into dealing in personalities, and there may have been some justification for this action.

Sentiment among business and property-owning groups was divided on the question of organized opposition to the February amendment; so little came from that quarter until two weeks before the election. Then, the president of the Real Estate Board urged each member of that body to contribute

one per cent of his 1946 tax bill to a fund to defeat the amendment.

Two days later a "Committee on Facts," whose chairman was also president of the Real Estate Board, published a two-page advertisement in the *St. Paul Shopper*: (1) listing the current and "proposed" salaries of each school teacher, (2) labelling proposed salaries as excessive, (3) alleging that teachers work only 180 short work-days yearly, (4) alleging that these salaries would be permanent and "guaranteed"², (5) declaring that the estimated 25 per cent increase in taxes would be excessive [although rates would still be below those of other cities], and (6) alleging that no funds would be provided for capital improvements. This advertisement and its reprints invited invidious comparisons (1, 3 and 4) by voters, and indulged in "card stacking."

Four days later, eight days before the election, the Association of Commerce joined the opposition and called for support of a future amendment to provide substantially less for schools and other services, plus a bond issue for new school buildings and class rooms.

Meanwhile, the Committee on Facts' published salary list had taken

its toll among lower income voters. Thousands knew some teacher whom they begrudged a higher income than their own. A week before the election the teachers agreed to a substantially lower salary schedule but opponents labeled this a subterfuge and the damage had been done.

Fourth Campaign Planned

The fiscal amendment finally submitted by the charter commission for the April 15 election followed rather closely the recommendations of the Association of Commerce and the Real Estate Board. The \$42 per capita spending limit of the February proposal was reduced to \$37; the ratio of other services to education of \$24—\$18 plus state aids—was reduced to \$22—\$15 plus aids; and a \$27.50 ceiling was placed on real estate taxes.

In a surprise move the charter commission submitted a second amendment to establish an advisory committee on naming a school superintendent. This was opposed by the citizens committee groups on the ground that the existence of such a halfway measure would hinder the achievement of an elective school board with full autonomy; but, to avoid injury to the prospects for the fiscal amendment, the committee did not campaign against the second amendment.

The campaign for the April vote, being free from organized opposition, had mainly to combat civic lethargy; and the high proportion of favorable votes would seem to indicate that both voter abstention and voter conversion were important factors at work. A fusion committee of leaders

²Teachers' salaries, unlike those of other city employees, are not on a cost-of-living index pay schedule; but there is some discussion of including them. Under this plan, salary changes are normally made annually to correspond with each cost-of-living index change of two points or more. The Bureau of Labor Statistics index covering the nearest comparable large city (Minneapolis) is used. See "St. Paul's Adjustable Salary Scale for City Employees," by Samuel E. Turner, the REVIEW, December 1938, page 583.

from former proponent and opponent groups coordinated support for the April 15 election.

It is estimated that some \$50,000 was spent for newspaper advertising in the four campaigns—July, November, February and April—with the bulk of it spent in July and February. Proponents in the four campaigns probably spent somewhat more than half the total, at least three-fifths of which was spent in July and February; and the expenditures by the two sides in these campaigns were approximately equal. While the July and November elections showed an overwhelming sentiment against the proposed measures throughout the city, the last two elections showed a progressive change in the picture.

'Pattern' of Voting

Forty-five per cent (65,189) of the registered voters took part in the February 11 election and 35 per cent (50,262) in the election of April 15. The favorable vote in February was 54 per cent of the total, and in April it was 74 per cent and 64 per cent on amendments 1 and 2, respectively.

In February eight of the city's twelve wards returned 50 per cent or more favorable votes. In April all wards gave more than a 60 per cent favorable vote—the percentage necessary for adoption—to the fiscal amendment (no. 1); and nine of the twelve wards gave more than 60 per cent to the administrative amendment (no. 2). In all cases the precincts voting against the amendments in April were also among the unfavorable ones in February.

The pattern of "favorable" wards was virtually the same in the two elections, with greater increases in the favorable vote in the wards that were formerly unfavorable. In both elections a majority of the favorable wards also had a higher than average percentage of registered voters who voted on these measures.

In the February election one of the most obvious facts was that the so-called working-class sections of the city (as determined by social survey maps, census tracts, etc.) were the ones which voted most heavily against the amendment. Many of these precincts swung over to the favorable column in April; still, five of the seven unfavorable precincts in the April election were working class areas. Appeals against real estate tax raises had special effect in those areas characterized by higher than average proportions of home ownership and lower median home values, per capita incomes and average length of schooling.

Since St. Paul has about a third of its school children in Catholic schools, it was only natural that a certain percentage of Catholics would vote against substantial tax increases for public schools—even though many other Catholics were strong supporters of the amendments. This was especially true in February, when five and one-half out of eight heavily Catholic areas voted against the amendment; and comparison with the "labor" areas indicates that strong opposition to the amendment came where Catholic and labor areas coincided. However, sentiment on

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What Ails County Justice

Scrambled judicial and executive duties of independent local officials have resulted in confusion and inefficiency.

By RALPH R. TEMPLE*

ADMINISTRATION of justice is one of the most important activities in the county. Local officers involved include sheriffs, bailiffs, prosecuting attorneys and solicitors, county judges, probate judges, county clerks, coroners, clerks of court, constables, surrogates, justices of peace, recorders, registers, county commissioners, county highway patrolmen, jury commissioners and many others.¹ All these officers are regarded as county officers but they are quite independent of the county government in any proper sense of the word.

One source of confusion and inefficiency in county government is the mingling of the law enforcement and judicial duties of officials with administrative duties. The fiscal transactions of these independent officials are intermixed with those of the county in such a manner as to make it extremely difficult for the average

citizen to know who is responsible for what portion of the so-called county budget.

The double character of their functions, judicial and administrative, makes it hard for the public to place responsibility for important phases both of judicial business and of purely county business. Thus steps needed to strengthen the administration of justice in the county would also remove obstacles to a responsible and effective organization of county government itself.

Office of Clerk

The office of the clerk of the court is the center of the court's administrative system. It acts as a service agency, enabling the court to administer its business. The clerks of courts of subdivisions of most states are popularly elected for terms of two or four years. The movement to decentralize the courts in the last century was so thorough that, to all intents and purposes, clerks are independent officers over whom the courts have little or no control. Because they are elected they are also under no administrative control. Each clerk's office is independent of every other.

In many counties the duties of the court clerk include not only those relating to attendance at court sessions and preserving of records and proceedings but also many unrelated tasks. In Georgia the clerk keeps a record of land deeds and plats. In

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¹See list of elective county officials required by state constitutions in Supplement to NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August 1932, pages 537-39.

Alabama the circuit clerk is vested with non-judicial duties in connection with the conduct of elections and is also required, with the judge of probate, to inspect the jail once a week and to report to the grand jury.

In Mississippi the clerk of the chancery court is clerk of court, recorder or register of deeds, clerk of the board of supervisors, accountant, treasurer and auditor, and also has certain assessment, taxation and miscellaneous functions. In Cook County, Illinois, the county clerk is also clerk of the county court.

Legislative and constitutional limitations on their duties and freedom from executive and judicial control prevent many court clerks from carrying out the work of their office efficiently. Little attempt is made to determine whether their services are necessary or adequate, whether their functions are properly allocated or whether they conflict with or overlap those of other officers. In the same judicial system there is usually no requirement for uniformity in the offices of the clerks of the several courts. To a large extent modern business devices, such as card indexes, flat filing, photostating, micro-filming and other mechanical equipment, are unknown. Few clerks have the financial activities of their office organized properly. Scant attention is given to the receipt of fees and control of expenses.

These instances are only a few of many which are the product of the complication of activities and the inadequate organization of the office of the clerk of the court. The present method of electing the clerk of the

court should be abolished. He should be appointed by the chief justice of the court or the judicial council, to hold office at the pleasure of the appointing power. He should not be subject to statutory duties and thus be beyond the control of the judges. Proper supervision of the clerk by the judges cannot be made effective so long as the clerk exercises functions for which he is responsible to other administrative officers in the county or to no one in particular. As part of a unified court system, a county court branch could be established. There should be a central clerk's office instead of a separate one for the different courts.

Sheriff's Duties

Sheriffs and their deputies are an integral part of the administration of justice, their chief task being that of giving immediate effect to the decrees of the court. Today the sheriff is elected by popular vote in all states except Rhode Island—where he is appointed by the governor—for a term of from two to four years with a fixed salary or fee basis remuneration. He serves both civil and criminal jurisdictions.

Generally, the duties of the sheriff include those of preserving the peace and running the county jail. The sheriff's police duties, however, have disappeared in many states with the development of state police systems. As chief executive officer of the courts, he serves warrants and subpoenas, enforces judgments and appoints deputies. In carrying out his various duties, he has the assistance of deputy sheriffs, constables, court attendants, jailors and others, the

number of whom depends upon the size and population of the county. In many states the constable is a separately elected official.

The sheriff has been saddled often with a variety of tasks, many of them totally unrelated to his primary functions as an officer of the court. In Cook County, Illinois, besides carrying out court orders, conserving the peace and having custody of the jail, he is required to perform the following duties: post election notices, deliver prisoners to the penitentiary, hold sales of businesses of employers delinquent in unemployment compensation contributions, act as tax collector ex officio, execute search warrants, and enforce the provisions of the animal disease act and of the game law.

In Mississippi the sheriff is the peace officer, executive officer of the courts, executive officer of the board of supervisors, tax collector, sometimes treasurer, jailor, county librarian, caretaker of county buildings, forester and investigator of fires. In Arkansas and Louisiana he is revenue collector.

An analysis of the functions of the sheriff's office in most counties would probably lead to the conclusion that there is duplication and overlapping of work, poor organization and excessive personnel. The miscellaneous functions assigned to the sheriff should be reallocated and his activities confined solely to those connected with administration of justice.

The sheriff should not be an elected officer. In most cases he should probably be appointed by the court or the governor after meeting certain stand-

ards through civil service examination or otherwise. He and his deputies should receive a straight salary and should not be dependent upon statutory fees as a source of remuneration.

Transfer of the sheriffs' duties to a department under the chief executive of a reorganized county government or consolidated city-county government has sometimes been advocated. In fact, article 20 of the Colorado constitution enabled the consolidated city and county of Denver to adopt a home rule charter abolishing the offices of the sheriff and coroner and vesting their functions in the heads of the Department of Public Safety and the Department of Health and Charity, respectively, both of whom are appointed by the mayor.

Abolish the Constable

Constables should either be abolished or, wherever petty police officers are necessary, they should be appointed by the sheriff and subject to his control. In states which seek strong and integrated law enforcement, a state department of law, headed by an attorney general appointed by the governor, could be responsible for coordinating and supervising the work of all law enforcement officers in the state, including county sheriffs and county attorneys or prosecutors.

This should mean in most states a change from local election of prosecuting attorneys to appointment, on a basis of fitness, by the governor or better still by the attorney general. Like United States district attorneys such appointed prosecutors should

be full time officials. A single prosecutor could serve two or more small counties. The prevailing system of independently elected county prosecutors introduces local politics into law enforcement and largely nullifies the constitutional mandate that the governor "shall take care that laws be faithfully executed."

One indication of the inefficiency of the present system is the frequency with which state governments must resort to special statutory procedures to enforce the law where the regular county authorities have failed. The so-called one-man grand jury system of Michigan is a case in point. The establishment of an integrated state agency for law enforcement should eliminate the confusion and division of responsibility which now exist in many counties because of overlapping or parallel powers of sheriffs and prosecutors.

The Coroner

The coroner's duties are generally to hold post mortem examinations of persons who have died without getting medical assistance and to investigate and hold inquests in cases of deaths involving suspected criminal responsibility. The coroner is popularly elected in most of the states and appointed by the county board or supreme court in seven states.

Originally the coroner was the direct representative of the crown, as is evident by the name itself. His functions were to investigate all cases of sudden or violent death in order to protect the crown's interest with regard to such things as treasure-trove.

The American colonies adopted the

institution and it became part of the system of judicial administration in practically all the states. It has undergone some changes chiefly with regard to the size of the jury and the effect of the jury's verdict. In several states no use is made of a jury at all and in others the coroner does not have to investigate industrial accidents causing death, this task being assigned to such agencies as railroad and industrial commissions.

In Alabama the coroner makes a preliminary investigation of violent and mysterious deaths and reports the facts to a judge of record or to a solicitor, and the latter in his discretion orders the coroner to hold an inquest. In some communities, as in Cook County, Illinois, when the sheriff is absent or the office is vacant, or when he is an interested party, the coroner may perform the sheriff's duties. When the coroner is absent or an interested party, any constable in the county may, upon issuance of process, perform the coroner's duties. A law of May 27, 1931, abolished the office of coroner in Jefferson County, Alabama, and transferred its powers and duties to the county commission, but the functions of the coroner in acting under certain circumstances as sheriff are performed by the president of the county commission.

Two types of duties are performed by the coroner, medical and criminal investigation. His criminal investigation duties are duplicated by other agencies of the city and county, usually the police or the office of the state's attorney. In most of the cor-

oner's inquests in the United States, the type of examination conducted has been more harmful than beneficial to subsequent prosecutions. The medical aspects of the office, however, are so interwoven with the criminal investigative side that close coordination between the two is not only desirable but necessary.

Along with other evils there is the vicious fee system. This is highlighted when a local undertaker obtains and exploits the position of coroner to add to his undertaking business income.

The experience of New York, Massachusetts and Essex County, New Jersey, under the medical examiner system, justifies the abolition of the coroner system. The office of medical examiner should be substituted and made a subdivision of the office of the prosecuting attorney in a state general department of law enforcement. The personnel of the office of medical examiner should be selected by rigid scientific examination.

In all urban centers there should be vested in the medical examiner's office the duty of furnishing, to police, prosecutor and courts, expert medical assistance at every stage of the investigation, prosecution and disposition of criminal cases of every description.

In non-urban territory, medical examiner districts should be organized with a medical examiner's office for each district. Legislative provisions should be made for cooperation between those non-urban offices and those of the most convenient urban office, so that the facilities of the latter may, in proper cases, be available to the former.

There should be developed, at least in the larger urban communities, properly equipped medicolegal institutions under the control of the medical examiner. They should be affiliated, so far as practicable, with public hospitals, medical schools and universities.²

Conclusions

Judicial organization dovetails with the general administrative organization of the county. This fact contributes to the complexity of the problem of county government. As constitutions and statutes are at present, judicial administration affects in many ways the general administration of state and local governments. Since judicial organization overlaps and interpenetrates the county administrative structure, the reorganization of the latter must be influenced in certain respects by the maintenance or modification of the former.

So far as practicable, administrative functions should be removed from local officials acting as agents of the courts and transferred to others in a reorganized county government. Conversely, those functions dealing with judicial administration should be transferred to officers engaged in the administration of justice.

Attention has been concentrated in this article on specific court officers and their responsibilities, but there are other judicial officials, such as the judge of the county court in Penn-

²Recommendations of Committee on Medical Legal Problems of the National Research Council, Washington, D. C. 1926, noted in *Illinois Crime Survey*, page 388; see also "A Physician Examines the Coroner," the REVIEW, October 1936, page 577.

sylvania and the judge of probate in Alabama, whose powers extend into many fields of county administration. These as well as the county officers discussed, except in so far as they perform duties that should be turned over to the administrative side of county government, should be adjuncts of and responsible to an integrated state court system. Modifications of these principles, of course, may have to be accepted as temporary measures in some counties.

One of the first things to be done is to remove obstructions to the establishment of an efficient judicial system by simplifying the provisions of state constitutions. The court should be given more power in general terms to set up the judicial organization.

Students of judicial administration are agreed that the most satisfactory system for the administration of justice could best be secured by welding all of the present scattered judicial units into a unified whole. Even if this cannot be achieved, much can be done to better the business administration of the courts. Good principles of management with responsibility centered in someone who has general direction, supervision and control, would strengthen the administration of justice in all counties and open the way to more responsible county government.

IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED

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the fiscal amendment by April had shifted into the favorable column in the Catholic areas, much as throughout the city.

Various reasons have been advanced for the favorable shifts: the fact that the April fiscal amendment provided for a lower ceiling on expenditures, a ceiling on real estate taxes, and would provide for smaller salary increases than the February measure; that no bond issue was presented in April; that more specific provision was made for allocating funds for school building construction and repair; that most of the business groups which opposed the February measure actively supported the April amendment and that no significant and organized opposition appeared in April; that the city's financial dilemma had become evident to a large majority of the citizenry; that continued nation-wide publicizing of this crisis would redound to the disadvantage of St. Paul, economically and otherwise; and that the local press shifted from qualified support in February to strong support in April.

A study of these four charter amendment campaigns underlines certain significant facts in the field of current municipal politics and government. Should Minnesota cities take the following steps: (1) join the more progressive cities in establishing the more democratic vote of 51 per cent for charter changes; (2) follow the usual procedure of electing charter commissioners? A large section of the electorate feels that civic groups should continue their drive for an elective school board with fiscal and administrative independence of the type found in most American cities.

Watchdogs of Local Finance

New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Missouri exercise varying degrees of supervision over city and county treasuries.

By JOHN F. SLY, H. F. ALDERFER
and VICTOR D. BRANNON*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of a series of three articles, edited by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, of the Bureau of the Census, from a round table discussion on intergovernmental fiscal relations at the December 1946 conference of the American Political Science Association.

METHODS for improving financial relations between state and local governments have been evolved by the notable New Jersey Division of Local Government of the State Department of Taxation and Finance, working through modern codes and standards for fiscal administration; by Pennsylvania through a three-fold approach of cooperation between the State Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Pennsylvania State College and associations of local officials; and by a state supervision of rural county finance in Missouri that promises extension to other local units. In all three states appear the pressing problems of inadequate local revenue and prospective revision of state aid.

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Dr. Sly on New Jersey

Perhaps the most significant supervisory feature of the New Jersey state-local financial structure, in the opinion of Dr. John F. Sly, is the cash basis form of budgeting for counties and municipalities. As applied under state supervision, cash basis budgets provide that cash expenditures be balanced by cash income. Each year municipalities and counties anticipate collection of their current property taxes according to the collection ratio actually realized during the preceding year. This is accomplished by including in the general property tax levy an "overlay" equal to that portion which experience indicates will not be collected during the current year.

Called a "reserve for uncollected taxes," the property tax overlay becomes a budget appropriation which determines the amount of taxes to be levied but one which does not have to be paid in cash. By providing for current tax collections sufficient to meet current expenditures, the budget also provides no prior claim upon delinquent tax collections. Thus, revenues realized from delinquent tax collections are available for current expenditure and may be anticipated in the budget according to past experience. This means that the "reserve for uncollected taxes" may be offset in whole or in part by anticipated collections of delinquent taxes

and that the net overlay amounts only to the excess of the "reserve" over anticipated collections.

Although seemingly involved, this procedure is nothing more than the application of the "reserve for bad debts" principle to municipal finance. Similar to business firms, which count their risk of loss as part of their revenue requirements in the normal course of operations, municipalities in New Jersey count their anticipated tax delinquency as part of their tax revenue requirements. This procedure keeps them on a cash basis and free of current or floating debt which plagues so many local units.

Administration of the cash basis act¹ is by the State Department of Taxation and Finance, Division of Local Government. This division also prescribes budget forms and certifies municipal and county budgets. It supervises annual audits of municipal accounts and certifies "registered municipal accountants" who may perform them. Annual tax sales are required in each taxing district and the commissioner of local government must conduct such sales if the local authorities fail to do so.

Under the fiscal supervision act² the state may assume the duties of administering the financial affairs of "hardship" municipalities which meet prescribed tests of poor financial condition. Following the enactment of this 1938 law, 61 municipalities were subject to a temporary state control that, under the law, was terminated when their finances showed sufficient improvement according to

specified criteria. The upward turn in economic conditions, coupled with state supervision, has now freed all municipalities from this control.

The New Jersey Local Government Board acts as a funding commission to approve local refunding schedules and to protect municipal credit. It also acts as a municipal finance commission to effect the settlement of claims and the financial rehabilitation of debt defaulting municipalities under court order. The finances of eleven municipalities are controlled by this commission at the present time. The statutory net debt limit for municipalities is 7 per cent of average assessed valuations of real property for three years and for counties it is 4 per cent. A few local units have debts in excess of the limits and may incur new debt only under emergency conditions.

Municipalities and counties which can afford it are encouraged to accumulate "capital improvement funds" as prepayments of capital costs. Under chapter 85, laws of 1944, the state matches local expenditures for engineering costs of planning public works projects. All local public works projects involving state or federal aid, or statutory exceptions to municipal fiscal standards, require clearance and approval of the commissioner of economic development.

Within the New Jersey fiscal structure the general property tax is exclusively a local tax. Following abandonment of the state school tax, effective in 1947, no state tax is levied upon general property. Counties, municipalities and school districts, however, are largely dependent upon property taxes for revenues.

¹Ch. 60, L. 1934; Ch. 122, L. 1938.

²Ch. 127, L. 1938; Ch. 75, L. 1941.

Unlike many states, New Jersey has no general sales tax or income taxes and the amount of money available for distribution by the state to local governments is small in relation to their total budget requirements. Municipalities collect all general property taxes levied by themselves and by counties, school districts and special districts. The entire burden of property tax delinquencies appears in the municipal tax overlay.

A tax upon the capital of banks and competing financial businesses is divided equally between counties and municipalities. The proceeds of these taxes, however, amounted only to \$1,500,000 in 1946 or slightly more than half of one per cent as much as the general property taxes levied. Taxes upon the gross receipts of certain utilities are levied by the state and certified to the municipalities for collection. While this is the largest source of non-property taxes for local use, it provided \$19,800,000 or only 7.4 per cent as much as the general property tax in 1946.

The state levies and collects taxes upon railroad property and franchises. The tax upon second class property—all railroad property except "main stem" and rolling stock—and half the franchise tax is paid to the municipalities. This source of local revenues declined from \$11,200,000 in 1943 to \$7,400,000 in 1946 and will probably decline still further in 1947. Total state aid to municipalities, school districts and counties amounted to about \$51,000,000 in 1944, including \$11,000,000 of railroad taxes. General property taxes levied in 1944 totaled \$256,000,000 or five times state aid.

Effective in 1947, New Jersey has adopted a new state aid program for local schools. This program is based upon the elimination of the state school tax on general property and the distribution of about \$13,000,000 to school districts toward a foundation school program in which the local share is measured by the number of pupils, valuation of property taxable, and population. About \$6,300,000 of the \$13,000,000 represents "new money," and the remainder represents a redistribution of funds which were available in prior years.

Wide variations in local assessment practices exist among the 565 general property taxing jurisdictions in New Jersey. The legal responsibility of the State Department of Taxation and Finance to supervise and to equalize assessed valuations has not been fulfilled in practice. The average general property tax rate for the state was \$5.15 for each \$100 of valuation taxable in 1946 and will probably be around \$5.65 in 1947. Pressures for increased local revenue and rapidly increasing property tax rates are the basis for a growing movement to modify state-local fiscal relations in New Jersey so as to provide greater support for local services and to protect the cash basis budget.

Dr. Alderfer on Pennsylvania

State-local revenue problems in Pennsylvania, points out Dr. H. F. Alderfer, parallel but do not duplicate New Jersey. Pennsylvania long preceded New Jersey in withdrawing from state taxation of real property, the state retaining only a small levy on classified securities. State aid to schools is being reexamined as to ad-

equacy and equity; an increase in aid is predicated upon the imposition of a general sales tax or an individual income tax. Public assistance in recent years has been state-financed. The entire highway program has been geared to rural rather than to urban needs. In consequence, urban highways are relatively neglected. The question of allocating the gasoline tax is linked to the rehabilitation of the county as a road-building unit.

Federal grants to the state for health would make it impossible, under the Hatch act, for officials of the State Department of Health to engage in political activities. This requirement resulted in the state refusing to accept federal aid. Federal-state relations in the administration of unemployment compensation have resulted in civil service status for this class of employees. Although certain other grants have also had a salutary influence on administrative procedure, general reliance on subsidies—with or without administrative conditions—is a dubious development.

This conclusion is illustrated by the alternatives of state aid or state-shared taxes to assist in eliminating stream pollution. The need for extensive sewer works to implement the clear streams program of the state is stymied by an apparent lack of local financial resources. This function is entirely a local responsibility in the financing of which the answer should be increased sharing of state-collected revenue with all municipalities rather than state grants for sewage treatment works.

Turning to administrative supervision, Pennsylvania affords a con-

trast, at least in terms of emphasis and degree, to state-local relations in other states. It is true, Pennsylvania regulates local financial affairs by constitutional and legislative prescription. The municipal debt limit, for example, is 7 per cent. Like other states, Pennsylvania has established administrative supervision through the Bureaus of Municipal Affairs and Statistics of the Department of Internal Affairs. A specific authority of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs is to pass upon the legality of all local bond issues, except those of the three largest cities. This bureau, however, has neither power nor desire to pass upon the purposes or amounts of local borrowing, a subject for community decision.

In 1935 the state required all local governments annually to prepare budgets and financial reports according to state forms. Copies of the budgets and reports, the forms for which were drafted in consultation with local officers' associations, are filed annually with the State Department. Similar to borrowing, the purposes and amounts of local budgets are free from state departmental dictation and are subject only to state statutory prescription of procedures.

Consistent with this approach to relationships, Pennsylvania is emphasizing a broader program in which the State Bureau of Municipal Affairs is one of three types of organization; the other two are the Institute of Local Government of Pennsylvania State College and the various associations of local government officers. Functions of the Institute of Local Government are to train students for public service, provide edu-

cational service to local officers and their organizations, and conduct research in local government problems.

The Bureau of Municipal Affairs has a number of direct responsibilities with the local officers' associations—Association of Boroughs, Association of County Commissioners, Association of Township Commissioners, Chiefs of Police Association, and State Association of Municipal Authorities. The director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs is an officer in a number of the associations. For instance, he is secretary of the State Association of Boroughs and keeps in touch with the needs of the various boroughs. The Bureau of Municipal Affairs is the Harrisburg headquarters for the legislative activities of the various associations; information, service and space are provided by the bureau, which in no way enters into legislative lobbying.

If a personal note is permitted, the writer is director both of the Institute of Local Government and of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs, as well as an officer of a number of associations. Perhaps by "happenstance" his work embodies the tripart nature of the Pennsylvania program—college, state bureau, and officers' associations.

Although this arrangement facilitates integration of the activities of these agencies, a cooperative relation among the organizations is feasible under separate directors if the "sights" are aimed at an interrelated and mutually helpful program stressing education and self-improvement of officials. To the officials must be added citizens and civic organizations. The Bureau of Municipal Affairs has recently established a Com-

mittee on Pennsylvania City Problems to mobilize colleges, civic organizations and state agencies in a program for discussion of city problems.

Dr. Brannon on Missouri

The principal forms of intergovernmental fiscal relations in Missouri, declares Dr. Victor D. Brannon, are state supervision of county finance and state aid for schools. The state government makes grants to local governments for purposes other than schools, but the amounts involved are relatively small. Present indications are, however, that state grants and shared taxes may be used more extensively in the future.

In Missouri the state officer responsible for supervising local government finances is the elective state auditor. His supervisory duties extend chiefly to the 109 counties with populations of less than 50,000—commonly called "rural" counties. The state exercises little administrative supervision over the other five counties—commonly called "urban."

Each of the 109 rural counties must file a copy of its annual budget as adopted with the state auditor and obtain his receipt before any warrants may be paid. The state auditor prescribes an accounting system for all officers in a rural county, and he approves the accounting system prescribed by the county auditor in an urban county. He audits the accounts of all officers in rural counties at least once during their term of office, at no cost to the county. He audits the accounts of other political subdivisions only on petition of 5 per cent of the qualified voters,

the cost of such audit being paid by the political subdivision.

The state auditor prescribes the form of the annual financial statement published by each county, both rural and urban. Before bonds of any local government in the state are valid, the state auditor must register them and certify that they are issued in compliance with the law.

Although the budget law, interpreted literally, does little more than vest in the state auditor the clerical duty of acknowledging receipt of the budget as adopted in a rural county, this state officer has undertaken to exercise more extensive supervision over budgeting. He has devised budget forms and a listing of county expenditures that should be included under each of the budget classes prescribed by law. He has interpreted his powers to include the refusal to give a receipt for a budget that does not conform to law.

The program of state supervision of rural county finance was inaugurated in 1933. Missourians generally concede that a great deal has been accomplished through the program. A budget is prepared in every rural county today, whereas few prepared formal budgets prior to 1933.

When the first audits were made under the 1933 law, the state auditor found that some officers handling county money actually kept no accounting books. He also found that many county officers were disregarding statutory provisions relating to fees and expenditures. Accounting records now kept show vast improvement. Periodic audits have caused most officers of rural counties to be more careful in their handling of and

accounting for public moneys. The audits have also helped well meaning officials in their interpretation of laws that are not always clear.

At the same time, the program of state supervision has fallen far short of the standard that might be expected. The state auditor, responsible for the program, is elected on a political basis and his staff of auditors is appointed on a political basis. Auditors have been appointed largely from former county officers. For the most part they are not qualified to work out modern systems of budgeting, accounting and reporting.

The state auditor has also been handicapped by detailed provisions of state laws prescribing the forms of budgets and financial statements for rural counties. Many provisions of these laws are unsound. It would be better if the legislature established certain standards and vested the state auditor with ample authority to work out the detailed regulations.

Members of the Constitutional Convention meeting in 1944 and 1945 were convinced of the success of the program of state supervision of rural county finance. They wrote into the new constitution provisions designed to assure its continuation for rural counties and to extend it to other local governments. The constitution provides that all "legal subdivisions of the state shall have an annual budget, file annual reports of their financial transactions, and be audited." It also provides that the state auditor "shall establish appropriate systems of accounting for the political subdivisions of the state, supervise their budgeting systems, and audit their accounts."

In each case the clause "as provided by law" is added, and the last session of the legislature interpreted this clause to leave the matter entirely to its discretion. The present state auditor is a Democrat and the legislature is now Republican. State supervision of local governments was extended only to the extent of requiring the state auditor's approval of accounts prescribed by the county auditor in an urban county, and providing for the state auditor to audit the books of any local unit on petition of 5 per cent of the voters.

The degree of success attained through state supervision of rural county finance indicates that financial supervision might justifiably be extended to other local governments. Such supervision would definitely help the smaller cities and the special districts in the rural areas. It is doubtful, however, whether the state supervisory agency in Missouri has developed its staff and procedures to a point where worthwhile supervision could now be given to local governments in the urban areas.

As noted above, the only large program of state grants or shared taxes in Missouri is that of school aids. State school moneys are distributed largely on the basis of an equalization formula which has undoubtedly enabled the rural districts to furnish a higher quality of education than they could have provided otherwise without burdensome property taxes. On the other hand, it has enabled many rural school districts to reduce property taxes to absurdly low levels.

State aid has had the effect of

subsidizing uneconomic units of local government—the school districts with small enrollments and one-room schools. The equalization formula has also failed to take into account the higher costs of schools and the local tax problems in the large cities where the bulk of the state taxes are collected.

The last session of the legislature provided for a program of state aids for local libraries, half the funds to be distributed on the basis of an equalization formula and half on a per capita basis. The legislature also provided for a program of state aids for county roads, the funds to be apportioned half on the basis of the county road mileage and half on the basis of rural land valuation in each county. Although the attorney general has held that the appropriation for county highway aids is in an unconstitutional form, the legislature will probably correct this defect.

Because of their present financial difficulties, city governments are demanding that the state share its mounting surplus with them. City officials have enlisted the aid of county officials by proposing that both counties and cities participate in a program of state-collected locally-shared taxes. School districts are also likely to insist on participation in the proposed tax-sharing program. The distribution formula, yet to be worked out, may be equitable to all parts of the state. Past experience with school grants indicates, however, the difficulty of obtaining a formula that is fair to the big cities.

Letter to the Editor

No Tenure for Manager

To the Editor

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

I've just read the exchange of correspondence with Mr. Lanigan in the May issue. You make one statement in your reply to him which gives me great concern.

I am a strong advocate of the manager plan, and when you say "we believe qualified technicians and administrators should not be kicked out for political reasons," it seems to me that you strike directly at the basic theory of that form of government.

The manager plan is in essence the election of a policy-making board by the voters which, in turn, *selects* an administrator of policies fixed and determined by the board. A right to select such an administrator must in all logic carry with it the untrammelled right of removal. Obviously, if the board isn't competent, intelligent, honest or unselfish, a removal of a good manager will injure the community, but isn't that the fault of the voters and a normal result of the democratic process?

In the corporate form of business organization stockholders never attempt—at least to my knowledge—to insist that a company president be retained over the objections of the board of directors. The job of hiring and firing executive management is entirely delegated to the directors.

Were this not so you couldn't get competent men to serve as directors. And why should it be different in the manager plan of government?

I'm very much disturbed over your statement, and if it reflects the thinking of the League's Council, I feel the question should immediately be reviewed and a statement published of the reasons for and against any position taken.

B. H. FAULKNER, *Director*

Department of Revenue and Finance
Montclair, New Jersey.

We meant technical employees and department heads such as police chief, finance director, etc. Although, in practice, a city manager *should* not be dismissed "for political reasons" (his office and conduct of it should not be political), the power of the city council to dismiss him should be absolute, as Mr. Faulkner says, for a city manager *must* carry out the council's policies. A city manager is a controlled executive. That makes it safe to concentrate in his office the administrative responsibility which makes the council-manager plan more effective than any other form of government. The council's unhampered power to dismiss the manager makes it the most democratic form, as Woodrow Wilson and many other authorities have long recognized.

EDITOR

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Constitutional Convention Voted in New Jersey

Revision Considered in Minnesota, Oklahoma

THE holding of a convention to revise the 103-year-old constitution of New Jersey was authorized by a five to one vote at the state primary election on June 3. As there was little opposition and as no high public positions were at stake in the primaries, the total vote was relatively light. Over 250,000 approved the convention, with little more than 50,000 against. At the election 81 delegates to the convention were chosen, most of them bipartisan nominees.

In contrast to the strong opposition of the Democratic organization of Jersey City and Hudson County to constitutional reform in 1943 and 1944, Hudson this time gave the largest vote—some 61,000 to 4,000—of all the 21 counties of the state. Mayor Frank Hague, prior to his recent resignation in favor of his nephew, Frank Hague Eggers (a member of Jersey City's five-man commission) bestowed his approval on the convention idea. Newark and Essex County also gave strong support by a vote of about 40,000 to 4,400.

The delegates convened on June 12 at Rutgers University, in New Brunswick, to start work on their task, which must be completed by September 12 to be submitted to the electorate in November.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, like his predecessor, Governor Charles Edison, vigorously advocated the calling of a convention and thorough revision of the state's ancient constitution, which

has been amended only four times since its adoption in 1844.

Major changes proposed by Governor Driscoll and other political leaders include: revision of the state's antiquated judicial system, with abolition of the separate Court of Chancery; a four-year term for governors after the present incumbent, with the right to be re-elected for a succeeding term, instead of the present three-year term without such right; four-year instead of three-year terms for senators and two years instead of one for assemblymen, with limits on the length of legislative sessions and an increase of annual compensation from \$500 to \$2,000 or \$2,500; strengthening of the governor's veto and appointive powers; and rigid restrictions on lobbying. Equitable legislative reapportionment cannot be a result of the convention's work since the question on which the people voted authorizing revision specifically forbade any change in legislative representation.

Minnesota Looks Toward Constitutional Revision

The Minnesota state constitution, adopted in 1857, is badly in need of revision. Evidence in support of this statement is found in some 40 proposals for constitutional changes in the two houses of the Minnesota legislature during the 1947 session.

A proposal to call a constitutional convention to undertake the job was introduced at this session and received some attention, but the long time required to secure constitutional changes by this method led proponents of revision to decide in favor of a simpler method. Companion measures were introduced in both houses providing for setting up an interim commission

to study the constitution and to recommend amendments to and revisions of the constitution at the next regular session of the legislature.

This bill, as finally passed by both houses and approved by the governor, calls for a commission of 21 members—eight from each house of the legislature—to be appointed by the speaker of the House and the committee on committees of the Senate, respectively, one member from the Supreme Court appointed by the chief justice of the court, one member from the executive branch appointed by the governor, and three citizens of the state also appointed by the governor.

The commission is authorized to elect its own chairman, and may appoint committees and employ clerical and professional aid, though the appropriation of \$12,000 from which its travel and other expenses must be paid will not permit much of a staff.

To facilitate action by the voters upon any constitutional changes recommended by this commission and acted upon favorably by the 1949 state legislature, a constitutional amendment also was passed at this session which, if adopted by the people at the 1948 state election, will permit voting upon two or more amendments en bloc. The present amending section of the constitution is interpreted to require that each amendment must be submitted and voted upon separately.

LLOYD M. SHORT

University of Minnesota

Constitutional Revision Considered in Oklahoma

The 1947 Oklahoma legislature enacted a bill requiring the question of holding a constitutional convention to be submitted to the electorate at a special election in November, but it was vetoed by the governor on the grounds that it did not provide an

adequate appropriation for holding the convention and contained some indefinite provisions. The legislature failed to provide the two-thirds vote in both houses necessary to override the veto.

The bill provided for election of delegates in January 1948 if the November referendum were favorable, and also would have set up a convention survey committee of fifteen delegates designated by the governor, to carry on research to aid the convention, which would have met in September 1948.

As matters now stand the Oklahoma Legislative Council, an ex officio body consisting of members of both houses, plans to conduct a study and prepare a tentative draft of a new constitution to submit to the 1949 legislature.

W. V. HOLLOWAY

University of Tulsa

Wisconsin Considers Legislative Reapportionment

A joint legislative committee on reapportionment has presented to the Wisconsin legislature six bills concerning revision of that state's unproportionate legislative districts. Although the state constitution calls for reapportionment after every federal census, opposition from various over-represented rural areas has blocked revision on the basis of the 1940 census. The present proposals include the addition of four assemblymen and one senator in Milwaukee County, and one assemblyman in Dane County (Madison).

Congressional Reapportionment Voted in Illinois

A bill reapportioning congressional districts in Illinois giving Cook and Lake Counties three additional congressmen has finally been passed by the Illinois legislature.

Efforts to redistrict the state according to constitutional mandate

have been flouted for 36 years, encountering stubborn opposition from down-state legislators, determined that Chicago and Cook County should not have their proportionate share of representation. This year's bill met with a four-hour filibuster in the House of Representatives. As reported by Louther S. Horne in the *New York Times* on June 1, "yells, cat-calls, boos and pounding of desks, which resounded through the state capitol at Springfield, marked Wednesday's filibuster by the down-state Republicans, who are traditionally against reapportionment. It stymied action on all 200 bills on the house calendar. The hubbub ended when a roll call was finally completed at the end of four hours. The house adjourned amid threats by the filibusterers to tie up the legislature for the rest of the session, scheduled to close June 30, unless the bill is sent to committee."

Minnesota Creates Legislative Research Committee

The 1947 Minnesota legislature established a Legislative Research Committee of eighteen members, nine from each house, to assemble and to study information for the use of the legislature in its work. Bills for a research council or committee had been passed by the House of Representatives in the 1943 session, but the Senate refused to concur; and by both houses in the 1945 session, when a conference committee failed to reach an agreement.

Favorable Senate action at this session was secured through changes in the original bill which provide that Senate members shall be chosen by caucuses of senators from the nine congressional districts instead of by the committee on committees which selects other Senate committees, that the functions of the committee shall be restricted to fact-finding and shall

not include the formulation of legislative proposals, and that the life of the committee shall be four years.

The research committee is directed to appoint a research director and may employ such other persons and obtain the assistance of such research agencies as it deems necessary. The research director and other employees of the committee are placed in the unclassified civil service. The salaries of the director and staff are to be fixed by the committee, the members of which are to receive only their actual expenses incurred in attending meetings and in performing other official duties—members of the Minnesota legislature receive biennial salaries of \$2,000. Seven thousand dollars was made immediately available for the work of the committee and \$25,000 was appropriated for each year of the biennium 1948-49.

The bill had powerful backing outside the legislature. Governor Luther Youngdahl advocated such a measure in his election campaign and in his inaugural and budget messages. The League of Women Voters, the Good Government Group of business and professional men and the Junior Association of Commerce actively supported the proposal. Speaker Lawrence Hall of the House of Representatives introduced the bill in all three sessions and was its principal legislative proponent.

The membership of the new committee includes many of the ablest leaders in both houses of the legislature. Holding its first meeting on May 10 for purposes of organization, the committee appointed six of its members to proceed at once in the all-important task of finding a qualified research director. Several legislative problems were referred to the committee for study by house resolutions before the legislature adjourned, in-

cluding the state tax system, needs of state institutions, and a long-term program of higher education. Prospects that the committee will justify its establishment during the trial four-year period provided in the act appear good.

LLOYD M. SHORT

University of Minnesota

More Legislative Research Councils Established

Recent legislative action in five states has created legislative councils, or committees, to advise on policy and suggest new laws in advance of legislative sessions. This brings the total to at least twenty.

Besides Arkansas, Minnesota, Oklahoma and Washington, to which reference has been made in this or earlier issues, Utah has established a legislative council this year consisting of five senators, five representatives and three persons to be appointed by the governor, the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House, respectively. Besides conducting research and preparing a legislative program the council takes over the duties of the interstate cooperation committee. A biennial appropriation of \$40,000 has been made.

A legislative council authorized in Oklahoma before the recent war was activated by the 1947 legislature with a biennial appropriation of \$53,500.

Texas Outlaws Public Union Contracts and Strikes

Collective bargaining agreements between cities or other political subdivisions of the state and any labor organization, or recognition of such an organization as a bargaining agent for public employees, has been declared to be against public policy by a statute recently adopted in Texas. Strikes against the state or any of its political subdivisions have likewise been de-

clared against public policy, and any employee participating in such a strike shall forfeit all civil service and re-employment rights.

The right of an individual to cease work is not to be abridged so long as he is not acting in concert with others in an organized work stoppage, and existing rights of public employees to present grievances as to wages, hours or conditions of work, individually or through a representative not claiming a right to strike, are not to be impaired.

Some Public Strikes Forbidden in Minnesota

The bill passed by the Minnesota Senate to prohibit strikes of public employees and to provide conciliation machinery for handling labor disputes between public employees and administrative officials (noted in the REVIEW, April 1947, page 204) failed to get out of committee in the House of Representatives, presumably because of the probability of an executive veto. A somewhat similar bill was vetoed by Governor Thye in 1945.

The legislature did pass, however, a bill to bar strikes in hospitals, including public hospitals, which has received the approval of Governor Youngdahl. Conciliation and arbitration machinery is set up by this act for the settlement of any labor disputes which may occur in such institutions.

New York City, State to Analyze Services

On June 3 Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City announced the formation of the Mayor's Executive Committee on Administration and the creation of a Division of Analysis in the Bureau of the Budget, to increase the efficiency of the city government and to supervise policies, procedures and activities in the various city departments (see editorial, page 365). The

committee is headed by William Reid, assistant to the mayor and a veteran of the preceding administrations of Mayors LaGuardia and Walker; the other members are Thomas J. Patterson, director of the budget, and Benjamin Fielding, commissioner of licenses.

The new Division of Analysis is headed by William F. Shay, chief examiner of the Budget Bureau, who will be assisted by a staff of about 25 accountants and investigators from that bureau and other departments. Reports of this division are to be forwarded to the new committee through the budget director.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey on May 22 approved a state-sponsored program for specialized training in public administration for men and women graduate students and New York State employees, including also fifteen one-year internships to be established this autumn in state departments for graduate students specializing in public administration. The training courses will be offered this fall by members of the faculties of the Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University, and of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Survey of Dayton Shows Good Government

A recent investigation of the government of Dayton, Ohio, a manager city since 1914, while revealing various detailed situations calling for improvement, resulted in conclusions by Grifenhagen & Associates, of Chicago, that the city officials are conscientiously giving their best efforts to render the most effective service city finances will permit; that no evidences of dishonesty or extravagance appeared; and that although opportunities for savings had been discovered, they represented only

a small fraction of total expenditures.

The report states: "Few cities are as free of what is usually best understood under the label of 'political pressure.' To a marked degree the administrative officials and employees are secure in the knowledge that they can do their work impartially without fear that their actions will be overruled for reasons of political expediency. There is no evidence of the pernicious practice, so common in many cities, of withholding enforcement of the law or ordinances until a check can be made to determine whether the violator is entitled to special consideration because of political affiliations.

"The foregoing achievements have not come easily. The greatest weakness of democratic government lies in the difficulty it has in maintaining standards such as those just listed. The city of Dayton has maintained them and has done so without sacrificing its responsiveness to popular opinion."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Citizens of the town of Saugus, Massachusetts, (16,696 population) voted almost four to one on June 2 for the Plan E form of government (manager and P. R. council). A total of 3,252 voted in favor and 816 against. Saugus now has the representative form of town government with three selectmen. A special election will be held in January to choose five selectmen, who will appoint a town manager. On March 3 Plan E had also been overwhelmingly approved but the total number voting on the question was somewhat less than half of all registered voters, as required by a special enabling act. Subsequently, the legislature removed this restriction. Approval of Plan E was strongly advocated by Frederick B. Willis, of Saugus, speaker of the state House of Representatives.

The town of **Farmington, Connecticut**, voted 1079 to 214 on June 9 to adopt a council-manager charter recently approved by the state legislature. The charter will consolidate activities of five taxing units within the town. Voters of the borough of **Farmington** favored the charter 426 to 74 and voters of the borough of **Unionville** 328 to 72. The other two taxing units are school districts. A council of seven, three from each of two voting districts and one at large, will be elected on October 13. As a device to insure some minority representation, a voter will not be permitted to vote for more than two candidates as district representatives. The town meeting is retained and will pass on the budget each year. The plan takes effect in November. Farmington is the seventh Connecticut town or city to adopt the council-manager plan.

Windsor, Connecticut, on June 11 voted overwhelmingly in favor of a new charter providing the council-manager plan. The vote for the charter, previously passed by the 1947 legislature, was 1298 to 149—better than eight to one. The town will elect a council of seven on October 6, which will chose a manager to have general charge of town affairs. It will have authority also to appoint the town attorney, treasurer, tax collector, public building commission, board of tax review, zoning and town plan commission, zoning board of appeals and public library directors.

Montevideo, Minnesota, voted 477 to 137 on June 17 in favor of a newly-drafted council-manager charter.

A county manager charter granted to **Anne Arundel County** by the Maryland legislature became effective on June 1.

Interest in the manager-P. R. council form of government (Plan E) continues high in **Massachusetts**. In **Pittsfield** the League of Women Voters has endorsed

the plan and representatives of the league, the Taxpayers' Association and others championed it at a public discussion. In **Medford** the Plan E Charter Organization has been organized and arranged a public discussion. In **Quincy** the Taxpayers' Association took the lead in organizing a city-wide committee to circulate petitions for placing a Plan E proposal on the ballot in November. The Taxpayers' Association in **Newton** is furthering the movement there, where a committee is seeking to bring the question to a vote. In **Newburyport** the Kiwanis Club has sponsored public discussion of the plan. **Worcester** voters are planning a campaign to place Plan E on the November ballot.

A Citizens Advisory Committee appointed in 1946 recommends adoption of the manager plan in **Jamestown, Rhode Island**. The committee's recommendations will be voted on at an August town meeting.

The **Clearfield** (Pennsylvania) *Progress* has collected information on the borough-manager plan in order to publicize it for that municipality.

In **Columbia, South Carolina**, a movement in favor of the council-manager plan is in progress, with the support of *The State*, local newspaper; an amendment to the present enabling statute will be necessary as the act does not apply to cities of over 50,000 population.

The city-parish charter commission, provided by a constitutional amendment adopted at the polls on November 5 last year after passage by the legislature, has announced its tentative plan for consolidating the major functions of the city of **Baton Rouge** and the parish of **East Baton Rouge** under a manager form of government. (See also page 413, this issue.)

The **Trinidad, Colorado**, Chamber of Commerce has gone on record as favor-

ing the manager plan and has prepared petitions.

Greeley, Colorado, defeated a manager proposal on April 29 by a vote of 954 to 772.

The charter commission of **Goose Creek, Texas**, recently appointed by the city commission, has decided to follow the council-manager plan in drafting a new charter.

In **California** the legislature has adopted a law to permit cities of less than 6,000 population to establish the manager plan by ordinance and sent it to the governor. Popular vote is now required for adoption of the plan.

Carrying out a pre-election pledge, the city council of **Modesto, California**, on May 7 decided in favor of submitting to popular vote a revised city charter to include the manager plan. A freeholders group will be chosen to draft the charter.

A fifteen-man board of freeholders, elected on May 6 in **Santa Cruz, California**, to rewrite that city's 36-year-old charter, is reported to be sympathetic to the council-manager plan, but intends to investigate and consider other plans as well. Its work is to be completed within a year.

The **Manhattan Beach, California**, Chamber of Commerce unanimously adopted a resolution asking the city council to place the question of the manager plan on the ballot at the next regular election.

Councilman J. H. O'Boyle of **Monrovia, California**, favors a charter change to the council-manager form and hopes that the question can be placed on the April 1948 ballot.

In **Vancouver, Washington**, a campaign for the manager plan has been instituted with the support of the *Sun*.

Denver Votes For Charter Convention

On May 20—coincident with the overwhelming victory of Quigg Newton for

mayor over Ben F. Stapleton, the incumbent for twenty years—voters of Denver, Colorado, approved a proposal for the election of a charter commission, 55,062 to 52,659. The vote on this question, 107,721, compares with a total vote of 139,224 in the election as a whole.

The proposal calls for the election of 21 taxpayers as convention delegates. No date for their election is specified. The council, which is to set a date by ordinance, may delay it in order to permit ample time for preliminary charter study, inasmuch as the law requires the convention to complete its work within 60 days after convening. Appointment of an advisory committee of representative citizens to consider charter changes, including possible consideration of the council-manager plan, has been suggested. Denver now has the strong mayor plan.

Survey of Public Purchasing Methods

The first large-scale national survey of public purchasing practices and procedures supported by a national organization has been announced by former New York City Purchase Commissioner Albert Pleydell, president of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing.

Questionnaires have been sent to 750 public purchasing agents throughout the country.

The institute's questionnaire covers a wide field of public purchasing methods, among the topics being procedures in making awards at public lettings, short order forms, contract bids, specifications, inspection and testing, qualifications of bidders, discounts, liquidated damages, payments and warehousing.

The survey is planned to provide data for a complete report to be made at

(Continued on page 417)

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Warning: Higher State, Local Tax Bills Ahead

Larger Budgets Foreseen Improved Methods Urged

VIGILANT attention to governmental costs and operations will pay back returns in terms of more efficient government as well as in terms of better living standards for the people," prefates the **Tax Foundation**, in *Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1946-1947*, 144 pages. Factual information is given regarding federal, state and local governmental finances including war finance, public debt and the costs of public administration.

Many reports deal with rapidly increasing expenditures for state government and state aids. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in *News and Views, Your State and Local Government*, analyzes the "Recommended 1947-49 General Fund Budget" and the means of "Financing 1947-49 General Fund Requirements." The council warns that "the level of expenditures foreshadowed makes it imperative that every possible economy be effected at this time and that sound and long-range fiscal policy be developed to insure wise and economical operations in the future."

California's first annual state budget proposal is only \$42,000,000 less than the total biennial budget for the years 1945-1947. A recent issue of *The Tax Digest*, published by the **California Taxpayer's Association**, Jessie K. Grant, editor, summarizes the governor's spending proposal by examining the "where's," "what's," "why's" and "wherefore's" of budget increases.

Effective budget-making is hampered in Maryland by the outmoded budget-

ary and accounting system which prevents precise estimating of revenues and expense requirements, declares the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy**, D. Benton Biser, director, in a recent number of *Your Tax Dollar*. The state's tentative biennial budget is analyzed by major classifications and compared with the appropriations for the 1940-1941 and 1946-1947 bienniums.

Departmental expenditures since 1939 are examined by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey**, Edward Staples, executive director, in *Where the Missouri State Government Dollar Goes*, in an effort to show the pattern of expenditures which has resulted in an overall increase in government expenses from \$189,500,000 in the 1939-40 biennium to an estimated \$314,800,000 in the 1945-1947 biennium.

A Good Report

Setting forth the financial summary for the biennium 1947-1949, the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association**, Percy F. Jowett, executive director, in *News and Views—State and Local Government*, finds it "encouraging to contemplate that a balanced financial position for the general fund may reasonably be expected."

In order to encourage its economic growth a "state must keep its spending program and therefore its policy of taxation in line with other states in its area, observes the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research**, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, in a *Comparison of Costs of Government in Minnesota and Six Neighboring States*. This 64-page booklet contains a detailed analysis of expenditures in Minnesota and six other states, a brief survey of postwar budget problems in

Minnesota and a considerable number of tables, charts and maps.

The **Bureau of Business Research** and the **Bureau of Government Research** at the **University of Kansas** have jointly produced *Fiscal Kansas* by J. D. Morgan, a 98-page pictorial summary of finances during the last several years. The author draws no conclusions because he feels the discerning citizen, on the basis of facts presented, can draw his own sound conclusions. However, he points out that Kansas is in a "relatively enviable financial position as compared to many other states." The problems of the existing financial system in Kansas are outlined in the "State Budget: Financial Control," a recent issue of *Your Government*, published by the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas**, Ethan P. Allen, director. The four outstanding weaknesses in the system are the patchwork character of the financial organization, special funds into which over 80 per cent of state funds go, the need for an allotment system extending to all state agencies and a post-audit independent of the executive.

Improve State Government

Possible Improvements in the Operation of State Government, Ten-Year Analysis of State Expenditures has been issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research**. The expenditure side of government in Minnesota does not present a "rosy picture," and changes looking toward more responsible and effective management of the state are discussed. Suggestions include strengthening the department of administration, returning accounting and pre-auditing powers to the executive office and consolidating numerous agencies. Legislative reorganization is also urged to provide a better staff for the legislature, consolidate the committee system, improve the liaison between

executive and legislature, and reapportion the house and senate legislative districts.

The **Bureau of Research of the University of Arkansas** has published Number 8 in its research series, *The Organization and Function of State and Local Government in Arkansas*. The 201-page book concentrates on a consideration of the constitution, the election process, the legislative, administrative and judicial processes, county and municipal government, improvement districts, school districts, townships, government regulation, government services and financial administration.

Two more research reports have been issued by the **Utah Foundation**, Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, entitled *Legislative Control of Public Funds in Utah* and *The Tax Burden in Utah*. The first reports on the decrease in revenues expendable without control by legislative appropriations from 80 per cent before 1947 to 43 per cent for the years 1948-1949. The second report finds that the \$139,000,000 in federal, state and local taxes collected in Utah in 1946 exceeds by \$15,000,000 the total income from agricultural products marketed in the state and exceeds the total value of minerals produced.

A statistical account of the existing financial structure is contained in *Financing State Government in Massachusetts*, 36 pages, published by the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations**, Norman MacDonald, executive director, in order to "facilitate an understanding [by the legislature] of the intricate operations" of the revenue structure and to assist in the solution of the problems of state financial administration and state aids to localities."

The **Kentucky Tax Research Association**, George T. Holmes, secretary, has issued a study of the *Tax System of Kentucky and Comparison with Neigh-*

boring States in an effort to show that if Kentucky is to afford its citizens the services that other states do, the tax base must be broadened and taxes should be based upon the "extent of services rendered the taxpayers by the government."

Assessment Problems

"The Colorado Property Tax" is seriously defective, reports the **University of Colorado** in *Taxation in Colorado*, by Earl C. Crockett. Among the problems considered most serious are the assessment of property at not more than 30 per cent of true value, the dubious value of fixing the tax rate limit at not more than 5 per cent in excess of the previous year, tax delinquency, the loopholes in exemption of property and personalty, the weakness of the office of county assessor.

The **Nevada Taxpayers Association**, Dryden Kuser, director, presents in *Nevada Tax Review* a digest of a "Study of Assessed Valuations." The study finds that assessments are not uniform, are far below true value and if valuations were adjusted on a statewide level three-quarters of a million dollars of additional revenue could be collected.

For the purpose of improving the tax and budgeting laws, providing necessary funds for government operation, eliminating tax inequalities, and reducing taxes consistent with efficient governmental operation, the **Oklahoma Legislative Taxation Committee**, L. D. Melton, secretary, has issued a *Report and Recommendations*. The results of the study of state tax laws, state financial administration, ad valorem tax administration, school reorganization and finance, and workmen's compensation costs are outlined in the 27-page pamphlet. The committee recommends creation of an adequately staffed legislative council.

State Aid vs. Local Taxes and Revenues

State Payment to Localities, an analysis of the local assistance (Moore) plan and its potential effect on tax rates, prepared and published by the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State**, Walter O. Howe, executive vice president, provides a background summary of the chief sources of New York State local revenue and local tax and governmental cost trends. General local assistance will replace the former system of shared taxes, a long range effect of which will be that most municipalities will receive more unearmarked revenue than they would otherwise expect to receive. "The dollars-and-cents effect of the local assistance plan on real estate taxes will depend largely on the extent to which local taxpayers succeed in persuading public officials to use the increased assistance for tax reduction rather than for additional spending."

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, George G. Sipprell, managing director, the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**, W. Earl Weller, director, and the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**, George L. Nichols, managing director, have all devoted recent bulletins to a discussion of the new local tax law which extends to New York counties and cities permission to levy certain sales, excise and license taxes to help defray increased school and city costs.

Permissive Local Taxes as a Possible Alternative to the Proposed Sharing of State Revenues with Local Government Units is a remedy suggested by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey**. The **Missouri Municipal League's** plan for sharing state sales and income taxes with municipalities and counties would "violate the fundamental principle that responsibility for raising money should

accompany the spending of it." The permissive local tax plan would provide for lower state taxes and the difference could be levied by cities for local purposes. Collection would be by the state, thus saving the cost of duplicating collection machinery.

In a recent issue of *Research Brevities*, the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** considers "State Aid vs. Broadening the Local Tax Base." The facts on both sides of the question are presented so that the citizen can form his own opinion.

Local License Taxes

Two reports on municipal license taxes have been issued by the **Alabama League of Municipalities**, Ed E. Reid, executive director, and the **North Carolina League of Municipalities**, Mrs. Davetta L. Steed, executive secretary. The former, *Manual on Municipal License Taxes in Alabama*, discusses the legal status and operation of the Alabama system of licensing businesses, trades, occupations and vocations which provides 40 per cent of all municipal operating revenues. The latter report is a *License Tax Schedule for North Carolina Cities and Towns*, prepared by George C. Franklin.

In another publication Mr. Franklin reports on *Municipal Participation in Profits from Alcoholic Beverage Control Store Operations in North Carolina*, listing total county receipts and profits, municipalities which receive a percentage of profits, those that receive financial assistance for law enforcement in lieu of a percentage of profits and those that receive no division of profits or other financial assistance.

The **Joint Committee on Municipal Finance of Massachusetts**, Hon. Charles G. Miles, chairman, has issued a report on a *Further Investigation of the Laws Relating to Municipal Finance* which includes laws dealing with the authority of cities and towns to appro-

priate money by by-laws and purposes for which cities and towns may borrow money. It also investigates the subject of parking meters and legislation authorizing cities and towns to participate in the payment of life insurance premiums for their employees.

Cost and Conduct of Public Education

A report on national and state financial aids to public education in Minnesota made by the **Research Project on Intergovernmental Relations in Minnesota**, Dr. William Anderson, director, points out that of the 7,600 school districts in the state many are so small as to have inadequate local resources for the maintenance of satisfactory programs of education. Reorganization and consolidation of districts are held to be essential to obtain the best financial and educational returns from the tax dollar.

A Manual for the School Board and School Board Members has been prepared for the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico**, by J. W. Diefendorf. This 26-page pamphlet describes the kinds and functions of school boards in New Mexico and the qualifications and duties of board members.

Data compiled by the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** on teachers salaries, presented in a recent *Bulletin*, indicates that the superintendent's proposed salary schedule "will provide the highest minimum and highest maximum of any major metropolitan school district in the United States."

"It Pays to Have a Nest Egg" says the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division**, Leslie J. Reese, director, in a recent *Newsletter* devoted to the story of Allegheny County's 1947 budget. High income and low expenditures during 1946 place the county's

1947 operation "in the clear." In considering the per capita school tax in Allegheny County, the league finds it is "hit or miss taxation." School districts in seeking legislative assistance to meet higher pay scales and higher costs are neglecting an estimated million and a half that could be obtained if the per capita tax were levied properly.

Municipal Finances Are Tough All Over

The city of Pittsburgh, saddled with a limited tax base and declining valuations of real property, may have new burdens added to the city budget according to the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division**. Payroll bills under consideration by the legislature would increase the cost of operation \$2,000,000 a year. These bills are reviewed in a P.E.L. *Newsletter* entitled "Local Government by Directive."

Reports on budgets and tax rates from cities throughout the country all reflect the trend of the increasing cost of government. The **Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission of Minneapolis**, Roy G. Blakey, chairman, points out in a recent bulletin that efficient use of the taxpayer's dollar cannot be realized without a unified and coordinated budgetary, accounting and purchasing control and a sound fiscal program for the entire city government.

"Providence is trying to meet service demands of 1947 with a tax structure that was insufficient for the needs of the 30s," says the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**, Robert E. Pickup, executive director, in a recent bulletin. Four possible solutions with arguments for and against are outlined: greater local taxing authority, supplemental tax system, proceeds of state taxes earmarked for local purposes, and lump sum appropriations to local governments.

The **Department of Governmental Affairs of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce**, John R. Kerstetter, manager, discusses "The City's 'Million Dollar Deficit' a Part of the Cause—and a Measure of Its Meaning," in two issues of the *Dayton Government Digest*.

The "1947 Budget Provides New Pay Raises" and reflects the increased price for materials, states the **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association**, Joseph A. Kelly, executive director, in its monthly report.

A bulletin entitled *Background for Budgeting, a Pictorial Review of City Budget Trends* has been issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, Loren B. Miller, director. It is designed to furnish "background for value judgments on the operations of Detroit's city government."

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore, compiled by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy**, records increases in the city's budget, net debt and tax levy.

Reasons for Higher Costs

"Increased personal services constitute a major problem," reports the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, Alfred F. Smith, director, in a summary analysis of departmental budget requests for 1947-1948. The major factors affecting increased expenses are measures approved by the voters in the November election providing for price and salary increases. A ten-million-dollar tax levy increase is indicated for 1947-1948.

The **Jasper County Tax Economy Association**, Gerald N. Hardy, executive secretary, estimates a 57 per cent rise in Carthage (Missouri) taxes in 1947, based on a study of the proposed levy for city, state, county and school districts and the estimated revenues necessary to make payments on bond issues.

"Let's Save Ten Million Dollars," suggests the **Utica Municipal Research**

Bureau, William R. Coates, executive director, in a recent issue of *Your City*. Reduction of the debt and adoption of the pay-as-you-go plan are suggested.

A memorandum issued by the **Committee on Governmental Affairs of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce** demonstrates how variations of the three factors which influence the tax rate—estimated expenditures, estimated revenues and total assessed valuation of property—have combined to produce a 40-point rise in Trenton's tax rate.

The **Governmental Research Bureau of Duluth**, Harry R. Reid, executive secretary, points out that while Duluth taxes have risen 13½ per cent since 1945, that does not "reflect the true increase in the tax cost of operating local governments." Decreases in debt cost help to conceal increases in operating costs.

A series of *Just A Moment* bulletins of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** deals with city finances. The final 1947-1948 city budget as adopted will reduce the tax rate from \$29.75 to \$29.51.

Ways and Means to Municipal Progress

The Summary Report on Administrative Survey, City of Minneapolis, issued by **Public Administration Service**, H. G. Pope, executive director, sets forth conclusions drawn from studies of individual departments, applies accepted principles of municipal government organization to the Minneapolis situation and analyzes the cost of municipal government in Minneapolis. Three long-term objectives recommended in the 43-page report are: (1) clear separation between legislature and administration, (2) an administrative organization headed by one official to whom all department heads are responsible, and (3) establishment of boards and commissions only for activities which require advisory support or quasi-judicial review.

Local Government and the Fringe Problem, by H. L. Brittain, director of the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada**, outlines the legal means by which "fringe" communities can be satisfied in their need for additional public services. The author favors annexation to neighboring city or town because "there is no sound reason why political boundaries should be so immovable that they cannot be extended."

To Change or Not to Change

"The present San Francisco charter, with little or no changes, [is] adequate for all current and foreseeable future conditions San Francisco might face," is the conclusion reached by the **Bureau of Governmental Research** in its report to the charter revision committee, summarized in its *Research Bulletin*. The bureau believes that personnel and civil service reform is the most needed of the suggested changes.

Professor Joseph M. Ray of the **University of Maryland** suggests many changes for *Improving the Government of Cumberland*, chief among which are abandonment of the present commission form, adoption of a council-manager charter, adoption of the principles of the executive budget, and establishment of a system of centralized purchasing and central fiscal control.

The **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau**, James J. Kirkwood, executive secretary, gives a brief resume of the development of cities in a recent issue of *Comments*. It traces their history from early Greece up through the home rule city of today.

Seattle ranks lower in police department employees than the national average for cities in its population class while its crime incidence is worse than the average city. The **Municipal League of Seattle**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, recommends an increase in the personnel and efficiency of the existing police force in a recent issue of the *Seattle Municipal News*.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Campaign Groups Plan Permanent Organizations

Yonkers Leagues Will Merge to Strengthen Civic Action

THE campaign in Berkeley to secure certain amendments to its council-manager charter and elect a "reform" mayor pledged to support the principles of council-manager government, which was successfully concluded on May 6, may lead to formation of the campaign group into a permanent organization.

Berkeley's fracas at the polls began with the appointment by the council—later declared illegal—of its presiding officer and mayor of the city, Fitch Robinson, as city manager. The **Berkeley League of Women Voters**, which had protested the council action, sponsored two charter amendments on the ballot—one to remove a limitation on the salary of the manager, the other to make it impossible to appoint a mayor or other member of the council as manager until at least a year after the expiration of his term of office.¹ These were both adopted without any organized opposition.

Because of the threat to the manager plan, the candidacy of Laurence Cross, minister for 23 years of a large community church and president of the Red Cross for seven years, was endorsed by a group of prominent citizens headed by August Vollmer, well known as an authority on police organization. The cry of "Communism," raised by incumbents, so aroused and outraged citizens that before the end of the campaign there were a thousand volun-

teers at work. The 28,000 votes cast were nearly double the vote of recent city elections, that for Mr. Cross being approximately 17,000 to 10,000.

An interesting development of the campaign was the conduct of two sample polls by a group of University of California students under the leadership of Dr. Joseph P. Harris, an active worker in the campaign. Results of both polls coincided with the final results of the election. A post-election poll on why people voted as they did is in progress.

With its victory a matter of history, the group is considering formation of a permanent citizens' organization which would have the following objectives: (1) to promote effective and representative municipal government; (2) to conduct studies and research on civic problems; (3) to develop and maintain a high level of citizen interest and participation in civic affairs.

Hartford Plans

The **Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut**, which conducted the successful campaign to secure a council-manager charter for the city, has refused to accept the resignation of its honorary chairman, former Mayor William H. Mortensen, and has issued a declaration indicating that the group will continue its existence to lend support to the new government. A meeting of the entire membership of eight hundred is planned for the near future to discuss municipal election affairs.

Says the statement in part: "the Citizens Charter Committee will continue in operation for the following purposes: (1) to promote the efficient and orderly transition from the old to the new form of government; (2)

¹See the REVIEW, June 1947, page 331.

to encourage Hartford citizens to take an active interest and to participate in city affairs; (3) to encourage and support as candidates for public office competent men and women who favor the council-manager charter, who will work for the principles of the charter as their primary commitment, and who can be counted on to exercise ability and judgment to promote the interests of the community as a whole."

Yonkers Merger

Two developments in Yonkers' civic organization picture place the new **Yonkers Municipal League** (see the REVIEW for May, page 280) in an excellent position to play an important part in the affairs of that New York community: (1) The league has selected Eugene A. Buzzell, former newspaper and public relations man, as its first executive secretary; (2) the membership of the **Yonkers City Manager League**, Bertha Smith, chairman, whose efforts were responsible for adoption of the city's council-manager and P. R. charter, has overwhelmingly supported the recommendation of its executive committee to consolidate with the Municipal League.

At its organization meeting several months ago the Municipal League set forth six purposes: (1) investigation, discussion and improvement of municipal, economic, social and educational conditions and affairs in the city of Yonkers; (2) dissemination of information for the purpose of securing the most able public servants and increasingly efficient municipal government responsive to the needs of the people; (3) to study, assist and promote civic and community activities and planning, including the fields of education, health, recreation and social service; (4) to encourage broad and continuing participation of the citizens of Yonkers in its civic and public affairs; (5) to provide a medium for

persons who desire to cooperate in the accomplishment of these purposes; (6) to engage in any public activity designed to further the general welfare in Yonkers.

'How Good Is Your City?'

Someone has said "comparisons are odious." But they have a vital place in local government affairs. *How Good Is Your City?*—"a graphic picture comparing Seattle's government with other cities"—is a 32-page special report issued by the **Seattle Municipal League**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary. It should be an eye-opener to that city's citizens.

Well illustrated with sketches and graphs in brick red on white, the pamphlet is attractive, readable, clear and informative. Prepared and edited by Paul Seibert, editor of the *Seattle Municipal News*, and Lorin Peterson, research director of the Seattle league, it compares services rendered by twelve cities of similar population with those of Seattle: Cincinnati, Columbus, Denver, Indianapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Oakland, Portland (Oregon), Rochester (New York), St. Paul and Toledo. Compared are fire and police protection, schools, health, transit facilities, water supply, light, parks, libraries, engineering, number of employees and ports.

The booklet, which is also the organization's annual report to its members, lists results of the league's endeavors over the past year as well as goals to be attained. A major accomplishment was passage of a constitutional amendment giving Washington counties the right to draft their own charters; one goal: adoption of the amendment by the voters at the 1948 general election and a new home rule charter for King County.

Seeking the 'Wherewithal'

The 1947 annual spring campaign of the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president and secretary, to raise funds for the council's seven civic agencies, came to a successful conclusion with \$350,000 pledged and 1,135 new members on its rolls. "The campaign just reached its goal," said George M. Jensen, general chairman of the drive.

A sales pamphlet issued by the civic council during the drive was called *Your Civic Investment Pays Dividends*. It contained 24 "coupons," each describing a phase of activity of the agencies supported by the fund.

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** is conducting a fund-raising drive to assure adequate financing of its activities. Harry J. Gilligan has been designated general chairman. In appealing for support of the drive, Charles P. Taft, president of the organization, stated that: "The situation in Cincinnati today cries out for change, for a different kind of thinking in our city government. But effecting that change will not be easy. It will require the persistent effort of intelligent and able men and women to do the job. That's where the City Charter Committee comes in. In its 23-years history—from the overthrow of a bungling, wasteful, political machine down to the recent fight for a better smoke elimination ordinance — the charter committee has been constantly on the side of solid progress. . . . Interested good citizens must share the responsibility for continuing this work—and must do it now. If sharing such responsibility is not democracy in action, then what is democracy?"

"Wanted—A Committee of 100 to get 1,000 new \$10 members," advertises the **Citizens Union of the City of New York**, George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, in *Citizens Union News*. Increased

prices make it necessary for the union to raise additional funds, says the *News*. It is hoped the fund will be completed before the union's 50th anniversary dinner next fall.

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Airing Our Views

If We Want to Air Our Views! (nine pages) issued by the **National League of Women Voters**, Anna Lord Strauss, president, discusses the "know-how" in the use of radio programs on the air. While angled toward the local league of women voters, other local groups could well profit by its suggestions. Price ten cents.

According to a recent survey, 195 citizens have appeared during the past year on the radio program, "Build for Tomorrow," sponsored by the **Community Service Division of the Kansas City (Missouri) Welfare Department**. Programs are presented each week by the various community councils which represent all sections of the city.

A series of radio broadcasts called the "Civic Forum" is in charge of the **Public Affairs Committee of the Macon (Georgia) Chamber of Commerce**. Scheduled weekly over a local station, the broadcasts are divided into four classes—local, state, national and international. Typical subjects cover issues before the city council, public improvement projects, the chamber's city-county merger plans, etc. Prepared scripts are discouraged. Time is contributed by the local station which declares that the program has a good listener rating. The chamber feels that the civic forum "pays off" in a better informed public, more interest in governmental affairs, more public activity in support or opposition to governmental policies.

"It isn't often," says *Taxegram*, published by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association**, A. R. Everson, executive

vice-president, "that a program is halted because of its success." But the work generated by "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," the association's weekly broadcast, has so swamped the central office staff with work that it has been decided to suspend them somewhat earlier than usual in order that the staff "catch up" with the demand for services.

* * *

Women Seek New Constitutions

The **Illinois League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president, devotes an entire issue of *The Illinois Voter* to the need for a new constitution for Illinois. Among the subjects discussed are reapportionment, blighted areas, schools and funds, public welfare, civil service, courts and taxation. "Whose constitution is it anyway?" asks Gertrude H. Beggs, discussing "It Is the People's Constitution." "On the basis of general citizen interest and understanding, a workable revision can be achieved."

The **Florida Nonpartisan League of Women Voters** is also plugging for a new state constitution. A broadside issued for statewide distribution lists a six-point program which a constitutional convention or commission should consider: one-house legislature, uniform court system, unification of taxing agencies, fewer overlapping boards and bureaus, abolishment of statewide vote on local issues, and provision for consolidation of local government units. "A modern constitution, streamlined and geared for modern times," says the broadside, "will make for economy and efficiency in our state government. Tell the 1947 session of the state legislature that you want a new constitution."

A second publication of the Florida league, *Florida Needs a New Constitution* (five pages), discusses "some points which might be considered"

for a new constitution, including the bill of rights, suffrage and elections, the legislature, executive and judiciary, finance, local government, civil service, public welfare and constitutional revision.

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Hold That Line

Threat in New York City to place on the fall ballot a referendum on the abandonment of proportional representation for election of the city council has already brought action from various citywide civic groups. The **New York City League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Walter Neale, president, issued a statement that "proportional representation has proved to be the most democratic electoral procedure, and the League of Women Voters will campaign to maintain it." Richard S. Childs, chairman of the **Citizens' Union of the City of New York**, issued a statement for his executive committee reaffirming the union's support of P. R. and urged all the forces of good government to rally against the proposed return to district elections as almost certain to produce a near-monopoly like that in the old board of aldermen.

Facts and figures disproving criticism leveled at Toledo's method of electing councilmen — proportional representation—are included in a survey recently completed by the **Toledo Municipal League** research staff, reports *Toledo Municipal News*, published by the league. Among the matters analyzed were the votes of councilmen on ordinances during the past six years, the number of voters represented by the council under the P. R. system, comparison of results of the P. R. system with those under the ward system as well as majority voting at large. Ronald E. Gregg is secretary of the organization.

Small Community Activity

The **Extension Division of the University of Virginia** is publishing a "New Dominion Series" describing "experimental approaches to democratic living that are being tried effectively in various communities." Titles published in recent months include "Taking Stock of the Community—Study, a Basis for Action"; "Medical Care in the Country—A Country Doctor Shows His Community the Way to Health"; "People Like to Talk—Women Foster Responsible Citizenship Through Study and Discussion"; "Helping Parents Help Themselves—An Educational Approach to Delinquency Based on the Faith in Parents"; "The Schools Can Help—A Rural Church Institute Trains Local Leadership"; "The Community Can Do—A Citizens Association Does Not Wait for 'George' to Do It'."

One recent bulletin, titled "Observed But Not Reported—Some Non-Success Stories for Samples of Which Readers Have Asked," suggests some of the pitfalls to be avoided in community organization—whatever its aim.

The **Montana Study**, begun in 1944 by the **University of Montana**, is a program of adult education "devoted mainly to discussion of the regional, social and cultural problems that underlie life" in the state's small communities. Some of the results of the program are described by Ruth W. Robinson, acting director of the study, in an article in *Montana Education* for January 1947. *Life in Montana As Seen in Lonepine, a Small Community* (112 pages) has been prepared for the use of study groups.

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Combatting Juvenile Delinquency

The **Atlanta Citizens Crime Prevention Committee**, which recently completed its organization, will sponsor a city-wide program of recreation,

education and guidance in an effort to attack the problem of slum areas. Paul Webb, new solicitor general of Fulton County and organizer of the group, pointed out in a recent statement that "an overwhelming percentage of the nation's crimes may be attributed to ignorance, crowded living conditions, inadequate recreation facilities. . . The Columbians were born in Atlanta's underprivileged section," he said. The committee is composed of 35 citizens including representatives of all religious faiths.

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Remember Cocoon Grove?

Asking this pertinent question, the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy**, Harry K. Butcher, secretary, approaches the problem of "What happens to law enforcement in Philadelphia when the spotlight is not on?" The committee points out, in *Civic Affairs*, that following such tragedies as that at the Cocoon Grove in Boston, as well as numerous disastrous fires in Philadelphia hotels, local authorities give vent to "praiseworthy but non-productive bursts of activity," which soon "die down." "We wonder," says the bulletin, "how many more lives must be lost, how many more people must be injured, and how much more property must be destroyed before we get adequate law enforcement. . . This year you should study law enforcement as never before. In 1947 most of your city officials will be up for reelection. . . Keep score—and when November comes—you'll know whom you want to vote for to administer the affairs of this city."

Following through with its suggestion that citizens keep an eye on the activities of officials coming up for reelection, the committee's *Civic Affairs* discusses the question, "Why do we have primary elections in Philadel-

phia?", the second in its series of six "Civic Affairs Letters intended to help you understand the history and purpose of our present system of obtaining and electing candidates to political office."

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Opinion Polls

Apropos of its recent excursion into the realm of public opinion polling (see the REVIEW for June, page 341), the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, Loren B. Miller, director, has issued "Report to Citizen Research Agencies Describing the Bureau's Experience in Citizen Opinion Measurement," prepared by William Johnson. The six-page mimeographed statement is accompanied by samples of the materials used in making the survey as well as copies of the three issues of *Bureau Notes* reporting results.

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New Groups

First meeting of the **Forward Alameda County League**, at which officials were elected, is reported by the *Oakland (California) Tribune*. Purpose of the league is "to advance civic and economic progress in Alameda County without regard to the special interest of any group, and to inform the people of the facts which will serve as a basis for the formation of intelligent public opinion." Virgil J. Wolfe is executive director of the new organization.

The **Federation of Dutchess County (New York) Taxpayers and Civic Associations** recently held an organization meeting attended by representatives of various local groups in the county. J. Otis Benton, of the **Poughkeepsie Tax and Rent Payers Association**, was elected president. It is hoped eventually that all groups within the county will become affiliated with the county organization.

This Is Your Miamisburg describes

the recent organization of the **Miamisburg, Ohio, Community Civic Association**. Citizens of this city of 5,500 persons have banded together to work out the problems of both the city dweller and the farmer. Included in the sixteen-page booklet are the association's constitution and by-laws.

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Veterans Active

The **Milwaukee Area Council of the American Veterans Committee**, H. L. Kastrul, chairman, is urging adoption of a long-term program for the Milwaukee area. The *Milwaukee Journal*, commenting on the new organization, says: "The AVC steps boldly into the Milwaukee civic picture. It wants effective county government, freed from the hampering 'uniformity clause' in the state constitution. . . . It asks elimination of duplicating activities. . . . It discusses an extended civil service. . . . It insists on ward re-districting, housing and blight elimination, use of master plans by both city and county, the two to be coordinated."

The **Laconia (New Hampshire) Chapter of the American Veterans Committee**, E. James Allard, Jr., chairman, is interested in a study of its local government.

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Strictly Personal

The Seattle Municipal League has unanimously elected **Donald Yates** as president for the coming year, succeeding **Lawrence Bates**, president for the past two years.

James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton Times*, has been elected president of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, succeeding **Winston Paul**, of Montclair.

Reginald W. Bird has been elected president of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations for the sixteenth consecutive year.

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Saugus, Mass., Adopts P. R.

Boston Proposal Blocked Wheeling's P. R. Election

BY THE overwhelming vote of 3252 to 816, at a special election on June 2, Saugus, a municipality of 16,696 population, became the first town in Massachusetts to adopt a charter providing for the election by proportional representation of five selectmen—instead of the traditional three—and appointment of a town manager by the selectmen. This form of government is similar to that available to Massachusetts cities under the name of "Plan E," now in operation in Cambridge and Lowell. The first P. R. election in Saugus will be held at the town meeting on January 3, 1948.

Saugus is represented in the Massachusetts House of Representatives by Speaker Frederick B. Willis, who has taken an active part in promoting the use of this type of government by towns as well as cities. A previous attempt this year to establish it in Saugus failed because of a technicality.¹ The recent referendum was under an enactment of the legislature requiring the selectmen of Saugus to designate a date for a special election on the matter.

The *Boston Herald* of June 4 called the Saugus vote "a triumph for all Massachusetts citizens who are interested in increasing the efficiency of our municipal government," and the *Boston Traveler* of the same day commented:

"The little town of Saugus enjoys a

freedom which its big cousin Boston lacks. By a vote of almost four to one its citizens have registered approval of the Plan E form of government. . . . Thus a small municipality shifts to better politics. . . . Boston is entitled to exactly the same referendum process of determining the will of its voters. . . . Eventually we are going to follow the road of little Saugus in winning our civic rights."

Boston Bill Killed

Without a word of debate the Massachusetts Senate voted 23 to 16 on May 15 to kill a measure to permit Boston to adopt by referendum the Massachusetts Plan E form of charter (city manager plan with P. R.). Previously the bill had been approved overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives on May 12.

In the Senate the bill was opposed by the Democratic minority, representing the majority party in Boston, and by seven Republicans, including senators from Springfield, Northampton and Worcester, where P. R. has been given some consideration for local adoption. All cities except Boston are free to adopt Plan E by petition and popular vote; Boston was excluded by special exception in the original enabling legislation. This is the second time the Senate has refused to go along with the House in extending to Boston the privilege enjoyed by other cities.

Five of the Republican senators who turned the scale against P. R. were appealed to fruitlessly by name a few days before in a *Boston Herald* editorial, which said: "We cannot believe that their constituents would want them to stand in the way of an honest, home rule vote for Boston, or to pre-

¹See the REVIEW, April 1947, page 221.

vent the people of Boston from at least striving to cure their own troubles."

The recent upholding of Mayor James M. Curley's jail sentence for using the mails to defraud is dramatizing Boston's need of municipal improvement and the adverse vote in the Senate has by no means killed the agitation for the manager plan and P. R.

New Faces on Wheeling P. R. Council

On May 22 Wheeling, the largest city in West Virginia, elected its city council of nine by P.R. for the fourth time. Wheeling councilmen are elected for four-year terms instead of the usual two years, and always at a special municipal election in the spring. As in many other elections where major national and state offices are not involved, the vote this time was light, a little more than one-third the maximum possible.

Eight of the nine sitting councilmen presented their names for reelection, but only half were successful. Three of the five newcomers, however, had had previous experience in public office and a former city manager led the poll. There were 51 candidates in all.

The nine councilmen who take office July 1 will include almost as many occupations. In order of election they are: Robert L. Plummer, city manager from 1941 to 1943, former newspaperman; Carl G. Bachmann, lawyer, former congressman, councilman and member of the state liquor commission, who was elected to the first P.R. council in 1935; Jack R. Adams, railroader, veteran of both world wars, former state legislator; Paul G. Duffy, florist, member of the council continuously since the first P.R. election; John J. Gast, proprietor of a bakery, who came up from the twelfth place by transferred ballots; Russell B. Goodwin, lawyer and mayor during the term of the out-

going council; James R. Flynn, banker, member of the outgoing council; Jerry J. Donovan, druggist, a new candidate; Everett W. Miller, superintendent of the *Wheeling News-Register*, engraving plant, also a newcomer to political life, who defeated Councilman Donald C. Dietrich for the ninth place in a photo finish by eleven votes.

Partisan considerations seem to have played little or no part in the campaign.

The count was conducted expeditiously under the experienced guidance of Frank Camiletti, who has conducted all four of Wheeling's P.R. tallies. Less than twelve hours were spent in actual counting of the 17,302 ballots for first choices and the 42 transfers of ballots of defeated candidates, though several more were consumed in deciding disputes as to validity at the end of the first count. The official results were known Saturday afternoon after the polls closed Thursday evening.

After the election there was considerable criticism of P.R. on the ground that 647 voters invalidated their ballots and 1304 other ballots became exhausted during the transfers because they had no choices marked for candidates still in the running. No one seems to have pointed out that an invalid vote of 3.7 per cent is not generally considered excessive even when different methods of balloting are not used at the same election, as they were here,¹ and that the exhausted ballots are simply valid votes for losing candidates, which would be much more numerous under any other method. Adding the ballots of the runner-up to the exhausted ballots gives a total of 2491, or only 15 per cent of the 16,655 valid ballots, which failed to help elect someone to the new council. This

¹Three bond issues and the question of daylight saving were voted on with x's on separate ballots. Many of those who spoiled the council ballots marked x's on it too.

means that 85 per cent of the valid ballots and 82 per cent of all ballots did help elect someone.

Plurality elections customarily give all the representation to 60 or 70 per cent of the voters, often less, leaving the rest without any spokesman of their own choosing.

Councilman-elect and former Manager Plummer, who said he was standing by P.R. till he could be shown a better way, declared: "I am definitely opposed to a return to ward and machine politics."

The *Wheeling News-Register*, to which we are indebted for most of our information about the election, commented editorially on the spoiled ballots and the light vote but added (May 25): "Proportional representation, however, has much in its favor. During the twelve years it has been in operation it has brought into council citizens of high standing and responsibility, representatives who had the confidence of the people. In any government that is greatly to be desired and particularly in a municipality. The same cannot be said of some other systems Wheeling has tried out."

During the campaign the city auditor pointed out that during the twelve years of the P.R.-manager regime the city had never once ended a fiscal year in the red.

Long Beach Vote Postponed

Handing down decisions on two related actions on May 29, Supreme Court Justice Henry G. Wenzel ruled (1) that the local law for a referendum on the repeal of P. R. had been validly passed by the Long Beach (New York) city council even though it had been on the desks of the members one day less than required in the city home rule law, and (2) that the petition to postpone the referendum referred to in

this department last month was also valid. Neither decision was appealed. As a result the special election set for June 17 was not held and the referendum is scheduled for the general election in November.

Petitions Not Out in Yonkers

The statement in this department last month, that "In Yonkers petitions have been put in circulation to place the repeal of P. R. on the ballot at the fall election," proved to be premature. There has been persistent talk of such petitions in certain limited circles, which at this writing has not been translated into action.

Venezuela Using P. R. List System

Under the electoral law promulgated by the revolutionary government March 5, 1946, the National Constituent Assembly of Venezuela was elected on October 27, 1946, by a party list system of proportional representation.

Each state and territory and the capital district formed a single district for the election, with one member for each 25,000 inhabitants according to the 1941 census and an extra member for a remainder of 10,000 or more. Regardless of population each district elected at least three.

Nominations were made by the legally recognized parties and by independent petition of 100 or more voters authorizing a committee of five to act for them. Each party or group was supposed to name twice as many candidates as the number to be elected, so as to allow for alternates to fill vacancies. The names were arranged by the nominators in an order of priority which the voters were not permitted to change.

Votes were cast by putting a card containing one of the lists in an enve-

lope to preserve secrecy of voting and depositing the envelope in an urn. For convenience to the voters and the counters each list was assigned a distinctive color or emblem.

When the votes had been canvassed for a whole district, each list was assigned a number of the district's seats in proportion to the number of its valid votes. The calculation was made by the d'Hondt method; that is, each seat was assigned in turn to the list which could show most votes per seat if assigned one more than it already had. The particular candidates elected from each list were those at the top of the list, the rest serving as alternates in the order of their nomination.

A candidate might not run in more than one district, but might be nominated on more than one list. In such cases if he would normally be elected on more than one list he was assigned to the first seat that became available to him in the d'Hondt assignment, and passed over on any other lists on which his name appeared.

A feature of special interest is a device to give representation to small parties with enough votes to deserve a place considering the country as a whole but too few to win in any one district. A national quotient was determined by dividing the total valid vote by the total number of members assigned to all the districts. If a party or group having candidates in at least seven districts polled as many votes in all as the national quotient and at least 100 votes in at least five separate districts, it was assigned one seat. This seat was filled by the first candidate on its list in the district in which it received most votes.

'Episcopalians Vote by the Hare System'

Under this title the *Herald Statesman* of Yonkers, New York, published the following editorial on May '28:

"At this particular time, when old-time politicians and their henchmen are beginning to beat the tomtoms for a new attack on proportional representation as a method of electing councilmen, it is of special interest to note that the 164th annual diocesan convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in New York, used the Hare system of P.R. to choose the trustees for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

"That P.R. tends to unify voters and to blend democratically expressed wishes under a truly American spirit is demonstrated in the fact that among the trustees elected is the Rev. Dr. John Howard Johnson, rector of St. Martin's at Lenox Avenue and 122 Street, Harlem, who is the first Negro named to the board in its 74 years of chartered existence. This was no special choice of Negro delegates to the convention, for there were but twenty such delegates, both clergy and laymen.

"P.R. so efficiently speaks the wishes of a group that it is sometimes surprising that more organizations, aware of its high potentialities, do not utilize it in picking their boards."

Senator Walsh Dies

Hon. David I. Walsh, U. S. senator from Massachusetts almost continuously from 1919 until last year and twice governor of the state, died on June 11. A staunch supporter of proportional representation for many years, Senator Walsh has been a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League since 1928.

Baton Rouge City-County Plan Submitted

Consolidated Government, Manager Recommended

THE nine-man City-Parish Charter Commission, appointed by authority of a constitutional amendment passed by the 1946 Louisiana legislature and adopted at the polls in November,¹ has made public its tentative proposals for consolidation of Baton Rouge and the parish of East Baton Rouge. These include merging of the major functions and activities of the city and parish under the council-manager form of government.

The plan is being submitted to the public in a series of hearings at which voters will be asked for suggestions. Some of its provisions, as reported by the *Baton Rouge Morning Advocate*, include:

1. East Baton Rouge Parish would be divided into three areas—rural, urban and industrial. The urban area, containing the present city and subdivided communities, would constitute the city of Baton Rouge with an area of some 30 square miles instead of the present 4.6 miles and with an estimated population of 106,000 compared to the present 35,000.

2. The entire parish would be governed by a council of nine, seven of the members elected at large from the urban area or city. The council would select from its own number a parish president, to preside over the council and be the ceremonial head of the city and parish governments, as well as a parish clerk and treasurer, which two offices may be combined.

¹See the REVIEW, December 1946, page 615.

3. The parish council would select a city-parish manager, who would be a person trained and experienced in public administration, as the chief executive officer of the parish and city. The manager would act also as purchasing agent for the city and parish until and unless the council establishes such office.

4. The city council would consist of the seven members of the parish council elected from the city and would have authority to adopt the city budget, pass city ordinances and adopt policies relating to the city.

5. If the proposal is adopted the parish council would take office at the expiration of the terms of the present police jurors (county governing body), whose functions they would take over, and prepare for the transition to consolidated government on January 1, 1949, on the expiration of the terms of the present Baton Rouge commission council.

The plan has been prepared by the commission with the assistance of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, who have been making a survey of all governmental units in the parish.

Maryland Legislation Affects Counties

The Maryland governor has signed some legislation and vetoed other bills affecting counties. A significant measure approved is an act creating a state fiscal research bureau to investigate and compile data on the financial and tax status of counties and municipalities. The governor also approved a constitutional amendment establishing additional restrictions on the formation of new counties and changing county boundary lines.

Most of the legislation affected only

specified counties. Some gave county commissioners the right to set the salaries of some of their employees. Other laws gave certain counties the right to issue bonds for a specified purpose, prescribed the duties and obligations of specified officers of the counties named, or authorized the playing of games on Sunday in the three counties listed. Other laws continued to fix salaries of county officials. SB282 provides that all school roads in the county shall be made part of the Charles County road system, and SB477 authorizes St. Marys County to adopt zoning regulations.

The governor vetoed the measure giving Prince Georges County the right to approve establishment of airports because it would conflict with the authority of the State Aviation Commission and Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Tennessee County Developments

White County, Tennessee, plans to develop a novel combination of useful public facilities to be identified as a "fairport," which will combine airport, fairgrounds, and city park and playground facilities. Sponsored by the White County Court, the County Fair Association and civic organizations of Sparta, the new project would require between 75 and 100 acres of land. It is expected that the federal government will allot up to \$100,000 for the airport, with the state contributing an additional \$25,000. The interested agencies estimate that additional county and city funds of \$25,000 will be necessary for completion of the project.

The Cumberland County Court recently appropriated \$45,000 as a token payment for the property—twenty acres of land and about eight buildings—of the Pleasant Hill Academy, well

known educational institution of the Cumberland Plateau. Plans to make the school part of the county school system must next be approved by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Church, owner of the property. Alternatively, the school, which has operated without either county or state aid, may be forced to close because the church agency may withdraw its support.

Giles County plans to construct a \$250,000 community center located at Pulaski as a memorial to its war dead. Fifty businessmen of the community and county met recently to hear a discussion of the proposal. Funds would be raised through popular subscription and government aid.

Colquitt County Council Reports

The Colquitt County, Georgia, Council on Intergovernmental Relations has issued a 65-page progress report as representative of a predominantly agricultural county under the plan formulated by the federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations. The essence of the council's findings are as follows:

Members of the council have studied various aspects of government as it functions in the county. They believe that initiation of workable schemes at the "grass roots" level may well tend to reverse the present trend toward centralization of authority on higher levels of government. They have therefore devised a plan which in their judgment will tend to blend more harmoniously the powers and interests of the federal, state and local government.

A practical project for a predominantly agricultural county, this plan revolves about the relations between the farmers and the governmental agencies which affect agricultural planning procedures. It is believed

that a thorough demonstration of the program will greatly accelerate progressive agricultural practices and lead to a better economy through better application of governmental influences.

The council is aware that dissatisfaction with these agencies has been expressed by many farmers. They complain that there are so many agencies they are confused about which one to consult for information on a specific subject, and that in some cases conflicting advice is given.

The council therefore decided to consider initiation of an annual agricultural program in which, through a county agricultural committee, better coordination with all agencies responsible for agriculture might be accomplished and a sound working agricultural plan for the county established. A salient feature of this plan would be an educational program to give citizens a complete understanding of the responsibilities of each agency. Such a program would not only clarify the position of each organization in the minds of the people, but would increase the efficiency of the agencies by accurately defining their functions, enabling each to carry out its part most efficiently.

As a first step in the investigation, the council analyzed the services rendered by each agency active in the county. It appears from this analysis that the principal difficulty evidently lies less in their number than in a lack of understanding by farmers of what services are available and what each department is set up to do. Responsibilities of these departments are reasonably well defined and include a definite set of desirable functions.

One desirable feature is a basic county-wide agricultural plan, including recommended production, amount and type of conservation measures. If all governmental agencies and the farmers

themselves could agree upon such a plan, all services could easily focus their energies to achieve it. The council recommends the organization described below:

Proposed Program

The County Agricultural Committee:

It is anticipated that this committee will be composed of approximately five members, unpaid, probably representative farmers. This group would be given official recognition by government officials on all levels. The committee would help to give practical, local application of improved farming practices.

Agricultural Agencies' Round Table:

This would be composed of the local representatives of the various governmental agencies. It would meet whenever desirable to coordinate plans and information received, to work out complications regarding local application of these plans, and to consider complaints or problems presented by the coordinator on behalf of the committee.

The Coordinator: The county agent would act as coordinator between these two bodies. He would pass on to the committee any pertinent information received from higher levels or through the other agencies, answer complaints or refer them to the department involved.

City-County Health Consolidation Recommended

An engineer's report to the city commissioners of Dayton, Ohio, recently recommended consolidation of the health departments of Montgomery County and the cities of Dayton and Oakwood. Similar recommendations were made in 1940 by the Montgomery County Public Advisory Committee and in 1946 by a study sponsored by the Community Chest, Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups.

Similar consolidation of the health services of Lucas County and Toledo, Ohio, also has been discussed recently.

Indiana Provides City-County and Multi-County Cooperation

The 1947 Indiana legislature has adopted legislation permitting county unit school administration, joint city-county planning, multi-county conservancy flood control districts, and city-county and multi-county health units, reports the Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations. Newly codified and improved planning legislation for Indiana communities specifically encourages government administrative planning as well as physical planning by local boards.

California County Rejects Manager Charter

The voters of Siskiyou County, California, on May 27 rejected a proposed charter providing for the manager form of government by a vote of approximately two to one. Both favorable and unfavorable votes followed quite definite geographic lines.

Washington Grand Jury Reports

After study of the King County, Washington, grand jury report, the Municipal League of Seattle has issued a release recommending the following eight corrective steps:

1. More care should be taken in keeping an inventory of all county equipment. Although state law requires commissioners to keep an inventory records are incomplete and improperly maintained.

2. Auction sales of obsolete, worn-out or surplus county equipment should be held semi-annually. Evidence of sales of county property at prices far below their true value has been

excused as poor judgment or poor business practice in the past. While state law requires public auction of all items valued in excess of \$200, there is evidence of illegal sales.

3. An immediate 20 per cent deposit of earnest money should be required of each successful bidder at tax-title property sales. While this has been the established rule in the past, there are indications that the practice has been violated.

4. King County should discontinue construction of roads, buildings and other physical facilities and contract all projects as is the general practice by public bodies.

5. Greater care should be taken in releasing performance bonds on new plats to make certain that sewers, roads and other improvements are made and meet specifications. In the past the county has accepted new plats only to find that it must expend large sums bringing roads and utilities up to standard.

6. County commissioners should make an effort to collect costs of road construction and other work done in the past few years for the benefit of private individuals.

7. Improvement is needed in road district bookkeeping so that accurate unit costs of producing gravel, bituminous surfacing, etc., may be made as a basis for charging other public agencies for materials or services supplied.

8. A closer check on time-keeping should be provided as a guarantee that payroll padding is not practiced, and that the county is not paying employees for time spent in political activity.

Wisconsin County Officers Hold Annual Meetings

Several Wisconsin associations of county officials are meeting this spring

and summer, some resuming their annual meetings interrupted by the war.

The County Veterans Service Officers Association held a four-day institute at the University of Wisconsin the latter part of May. The meeting covered administration, legal problems, insurance counseling and public relations.

The 1947 summer road school was conducted early in June under auspices of the Wisconsin County Highway Commissioners Association.

The Joint Association of County Treasurers, Registers of Deeds and Clerks of Court will meet 30 days or more after adjournment of the state legislature in accordance with a resolution adopted at last year's meeting.

The Wisconsin County Boards Association met in March in its first postwar convention. The meeting went on record in opposition to the mandatory features of the pending legislative bills relating to county finance officers, county purchasing agents and abolition of the fee system, but it approved the measure involving codification of county laws.

Local Highway Research Proposed

The Highway Research Board of the National Research Council is planning to study highway administration, including that of counties and local highways. Suggested areas of inquiry and objectives include a comparative study of performances under contrasting administrative plans, a review of obstacles such as constitutional provisions, political opportunism or public inertia, studies of handicaps faced by the smallest road units and studies of achievement in selected counties with minimum resources but which have utilized engineering skills.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 396)

the annual conference of NIGP at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City, September 8 to 10, 1947. At that time, David Joseph, special survey director, will make his report to 750 public purchasing agents who are expected to attend the convention. The report will also be discussed at the conference and it is expected that the institute will create a special committee to recommend action on the findings.

Awards for Political Science Studies

The American Political Science Association, through President Arthur W. Macmahon, has announced the creation of a Committee on Awards, to supervise competition for three memorial awards for publications in the field of political science. Its general chairman is Robert D. Leigh, director of the public library inquiry of the Social Science Research Council. The three awards, for the best publication each year in the fields stated, are: The Woodrow Wilson Foundation award, in government and democracy; the Willkie Memorial Building award, in international relations; and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation award, in government and human welfare.

The chairmen of the corresponding award panels are Professor Francis W. Coker of Yale University, Dean Payson S. Wild, Jr., Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, and Dr. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago.

The winner of each award will be presented with a scroll at the annual meeting of the association. For the first award works published in the period February 1946-September 1947 will be considered and should be in the hands of the committee by October 1, 1947.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

**New York Airports
Change Hands***Now under Direction of
New York Port Authority*

TRANSFER of the operation of New York City's three airports—La Guardia Field, Idlewild Airport and Floyd Bennett Field—was accomplished at 12:01 A. M., June 1, when the Port of New York Authority took over operation from the city. The last formality had been completed a few days earlier, when the authority had filed with the city releases from the airlines for contracts signed with the city.

Under the terms finally agreed on, the authority leased the fields for a 50-year period. It will pay the city \$350,000 annually until 1957 and \$450,000 annually for the remaining 40 years, and in addition will give the city three-fourths of the net profits from the operation of the airports. The authority assumes responsibility for rehabilitating LaGuardia Field, some of whose runways have sunk below original grade and whose administration building also needs shoring up; for completing Idlewild Airport; and for reconverting Floyd Bennett Field—now operated by the Navy—to civilian use. The authority's total capital expenditure is estimated to approximate \$200,000,000.

A few days after New York City's airports were taken over by the authority, announcement was made of the authority's third offer to the city of Newark for the Newark airport and port of Newark. The proposal was described as including a 50-year lease for both facilities, on which the authority would spend \$70,000,000 within

five years for improvements and expansion. The city would receive \$100,000 annually the first ten years and \$125,000 annually thereafter, plus three-fourths of the net returns, until the original investment of the city was repaid, after which the percentage would be reduced to half the net. The authority estimates the city's investment to date at a little over \$18,000,000. According to press reports, a majority of the Newark city commissioners favor acceptance of the plan, but opposition is expected.

**Iowa Increases
State Aid**

The 1947 session of the Iowa legislature earmarked 10 per cent of the gross sales from state liquor stores for division equally between cities and towns on the one hand and the counties on the other. The city and town share will be distributed on a per capita basis, the county share for soldiers' exemptions on real estate.

The legislature also authorized cities to install parking meters, and provided for the use of receipts in excess of traffic enforcement costs, etc., for general fund purposes.

**Arkansas Abandons
Property Tax**

The Arkansas legislature repealed the state ad valorem property tax, bringing to nineteen the number of states which by law or administrative action have abandoned such levies.

The other eighteen states are California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia.

City Voters Uphold Sales Taxes

During May voters in four California cities having municipal sales taxes voted down proposals to abandon the excise levies—Berkeley, Huntington Park, Lynwood and Santa Barbara, each with a tax of one-half of one per cent except the last, where the tax is one per cent. The Santa Barbara tax was the first to be adopted in California, dating from April 1945. At last report a total of 53 California cities have city sales taxes. The taxes are in most instances closely patterned after the state 3 per cent sales tax, but are locally collected.

Pennsylvania Court Rules on 'Specials'

A 1943 act of the Pennsylvania legislature which purported to make special assessment bonds a general obligation of a city was ruled unconstitutional recently by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in *Harbold v. Reading*. The bonds had been issued as so-called limited obligation special assessment bonds, the only security for their repayment being the assessments levied against the benefited property. The statute attempted to make them general obligations, payable from general city taxes and revenues, but the court held the law contravened at least two constitutional prohibitions—one which forbids the giving of additional compensation after the making of a contract and the other prohibiting the legislature from authorizing a city to lend its credit to a corporation or individual.

Gas Tax Receipts Top 1941 High

Gasoline and motor fuel gross tax collections last year reached \$1,137,000,000, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators, setting an all-

time record. This is a 33.9 per cent increase over 1945 and a 13.7 per cent increase over the billion-dollar auto fuel tax collected in 1941, previous record year.

Greatest factor in the increase was the lifting of wartime driving restrictions. Another was the increase in gasoline tax rates by four states during 1945 and by two states in 1946.

California topped the list of state collections with a \$79,100,000 last year. Collections in Texas were \$72,900,000, in New York \$72,500,000, in Pennsylvania \$62,900,000 and in Ohio \$61,800,000. Eight other states collected more than \$30,000,000 each in gasoline and motor fuel taxes.

Boom Times for Parking Meters, Too!

More and more cities are installing parking meters, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association in a *Supplement to Where Cities Get Their Money*, just issued. According to the supplement, 451 cities installed parking meters in 1946, setting an all-time record and boosting to 924 the number of cities with metered parking.

During 1946 the average annual collections per meter increased from approximately \$80 to \$100, largely because of the removal of wartime driving restrictions and availability of new cars.

Some 300,000 meters were sold in 1946, 190,000 of which were delivered for installation during the calendar year. Thirty-eight cities over 25,000 population installed their first meters in 1946, as did many smaller cities.

In some cities collections account for a sizeable portion of municipal revenue. San Diego's 2,422 meters collected \$279,000, Denver's 3029 meters collected \$269,000, Seattle's 1,799 meters \$190,000, and Dallas' 1,500 meters \$190,000. Meter revenues are secondary to traffic control, however.

Of the fourteen United States cities over 500,000 population, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Washington have parking meters. Other large cities using meters include Minneapolis, Kansas City, Newark, Providence, Houston, Portland (Oregon), Oklahoma City, Dayton, Rochester (New York) and Wichita.

Among smaller communities, 177 cities under 5,000 population use meters, while 222 cities between 5,000 and 10,000 and 288 between 10,000 and 25,000 have installed them.

Urge States Help Curb Inflation

A strong five-point state tax program designed to curb inflation and bolster state fiscal structures against severe economic fluctuation is urged by the Tax Committee of the Council of State Governments. The committee in its report suggests this state action:

(1) Maintain tax rates more or less as they are, and defer all except urgently necessary capital expenditures until inflationary pressures are eased especially in the construction industry. Continue anti-inflationary policies in general.

(2) Adopt long-range balanced programs of state finance constructed so that higher tax rates may be maintained in periods of prosperity while lower rates apply during periods of recession. The program should join together all elements of the state fiscal machinery.

(3) Provide for a unified annual executive budget covering all revenues and expenditures of the state including state aid to localities. This budget should be prepared by a permanent budget office responsible to the governor.

(4) Integrate all aspects of financial administration, except post-audit, into a single department of finance re-

sponsible to the governor. Authority to assess and collect all state taxes should be vested in a single department of revenue, also responsible to the governor.

(5) Establish a balanced combination of taxes to provide adequate average revenues through cycles in employment and business activity.

The suggested state program is coupled with the committee's programs for interstate, state-local, and state-federal tax relations.

Minnesota Increases Aid to Cities

Minnesota local governments got mixed treatment from state legislators in 1947. Most important was increased state aid estimated to return about \$3,500,000 to municipalities. Disappointing to the cities was a halving of the requested \$1,800,000 state aid for airports and defeat of proposals to return part of the liquor license fees to the place of origin.

Cities and townships will share on a per capita basis in increased liquor taxes. Chapter 601 provides for raising the state tax on spirits from \$1 to \$2.50 per gallon and the sharing of 30 per cent of the increase with local units, to provide about \$1.20 per capita. Chapter 619 imposes a three-cent state cigarette tax allocating one cent to municipalities and counties on a population basis, expected to yield about 80 cents per capita.

The cities' hopes for a share of highway revenues appear to have been vitiated. The legislature authorized an interim highway revenue study but provided for submission of a constitutional amendment to divide the state gas tax between the state and the counties on a 50-50 basis. If the amendment is adopted cities will be barred from sharing in the gas tax for street purposes.

Local Affairs Abroad . . .

. Edited by Edward W. Weidner

France Organized on Regional Basis

Vichy - created Divisions Continue in Present Setup

DIVISION of the country into regions, begun by the Vichy government to facilitate the handling of local administration, has been continued, with some variation, by the French government. "After the defeat of France in 1940," reports *Public Administration*,¹ "the Vichy government succeeded in retaining the loyalty of the prefects, who naturally looked to the government as the center for their orders, and by using to the full the hierarchical system, the administration of Marshal Petain controlled the life of the population in occupied and unoccupied France.

"But difficulties of communication, accentuated by the frontier between the zones, and the large number of the prefects, led to the institution of regional prefectures to enable the Vichy government to handle a smaller and more manageable number of immediate subordinates."

The intention was for the regional prefects to act as coordinators, but they quickly gained a wider scope of functions. "Next," continues the report, "there arose the practice of a monthly conference of prefects in each region, convoked by the regional prefect and with him in the chair." Later under a law passed August 11, 1944, the regional prefects were given power to suspend all officials within their regions.

The principle of creating *ad hoc* regional areas for specialized purposes

continued after the armistice. "New and overlapping regions were established for youth, sports, health, the family, industrial production, etc. The new services however, adopted the regional prefectures area. Even some regional areas of long standing, like those of the gendarmerie or the prisons, were put into the framework of the regional prefectures."

After the reoccupation regional commissioners replaced the regional prefects in the seventeen areas, and an eighteenth was appointed for two Alsatian departments previously under direct German control. The areas were changed to form a more natural grouping with their centers roughly in the middle of each region.

Regional Planning in South Australia

The South Australian Regional Planning Committee has recommended the division of South Australia into twenty regions, according to the *Australian Municipal Journal* for February 1947.

The committee had no difficulty in determining the regions. "The chief difficulties were due to man-made influences," says the report, including: (1) The capital as the dominating center of the population; (2) roads and railways which radiate like a network from the dominating capitals; (3) the arbitrary and illogical straight line boundaries which separate the states; and (4) the boundaries of the local government areas composing each region have caused some anomalies."

Local Government Developments in New Zealand

An article on the future of local government in New Zealand, published in

¹Journal of the Institute of Public Administration, London, Spring 1947, page 34.

Board and Council,² lists the more important local government developments during the past year in New Zealand: (1) local government commission act, which provides flexibility for the local government structure; (2) alteration in the incidence of hospital taxation, which changed the inequalities of the previous arrangement; (3) setting up of the Institute of Local Body Administration Officers; and (4) the national provident fund amendment act, 1946, which provides for a uniform standard and transferable retirement plan for the local bodies.

Local Statistics Bureau Proposed

A recent proposal by a public health department official of the London county council points out that there should be a consultant service available to local authorities on economic matters. The government departments collect statistics but their collection is not large or current. A collection of data would be useful to the local bodies for waging battles with the departments. "Allied with the problem of a central bureau of statistics is the question of research," says an article in *Local Government Finance*.³ It is doubted, however, that local government will show much interest in the problem.

Voters of New Zealand City Protest Loans

Citizens of Palmerston, New Zealand, have raised strong opposition to provision by the city council for two loans without taking a poll of the taxpayers. Belief was expressed that there is a tendency to give the taxpayers as little voice in the administration as possible.

The mayor explained that the council

had approved purchase of buses and a plant. If the loan were turned down by a poll the money would have to be found by a large increase in taxation; whereas under the action taken it could be spread over a number of years.

Health Centers Proposed for Britain

An important feature in the English national health service bill is the proposed establishment of health centers. These are to be provided by the local health authorities to form a "base" for general medical and dental services and for clinic services. The emphasis is upon the curative functions but the terms of the bill do not seem to rule out the possibility that they may also be used as part of the preventive organization by providing regular health examinations, health education and other measures designed to sustain or improve the health of the country.

Hence, it is possible for local authorities to maintain health centers with functions of the broadest character, covering positive social health as well as therapeutic services. The linking of health functions with social and educational amenities under the education act of 1944 should make possible the provision of community services for all sections of the population, based on the family and local residence in close association with schools and other communal establishments.

LAWRENCE WELSH

Brazil Plans a New City

A completely new community, planned according to scientific, sociological, and industrial principles, is being built in Brazil. Named Cidade dos Motores—City of Motors, the city is situated on a 12,000-acre site about 25 miles from Rio de Janeiro. A ten-year development is to be financed by the Brazilian government.

²Auckland, New Zealand, January 8, 1947, page 3.

³"Actuaries and the Local Government Service," *Local Government Finance*, London, April 1947, page 97.

Books in Review

The Fifteen-Mill Amendment: What it is, how it operates, and the results of the first twelve years of its operation in one typical Michigan city. By Carl J. Faist. Saginaw, Michigan, 1947. 30 pages. Fifty cents.

At the general election of November 1932, Michigan voters wrote into their constitution a provision limiting property taxes for all purposes, except for payment of obligations theretofore incurred, to fifteen mills. The courts subsequently held that the limitation included taxes for state and all local units of government except home rule cities or villages which had fixed limits on their own taxes. Subsequently a number of Michigan home rule cities amended their charters to embrace the constitutional limit and placed themselves in the position of having limited taxes for operating purposes and service on new bonds to an over-all total of 15 mills.

Saginaw was one of the cities which voted itself under the state amendment, relinquishing a charter limit of twenty mills for city purposes alone to take pot luck with state, county and schools in the division of an over-all rate 25 per cent less than the former limit for city taxes. Mr. Faist, an accountant by profession and director of finance in Saginaw, has written and published this short but provoking pamphlet to lay on the record the city's experience since it amended its charter in 1935.

If Saginaw taxpayers have wondered how their city was getting by while the tax rate was cut from about \$45 per thousand in 1931 to \$28 in 1932 and less than \$20 the last nine years, they will find the answer here. Mr. Faist shows that it has gotten by by living on its fat—in this case delinquent taxes. And he shows that the fat is

now almost gone and the city is soon going to have to raise more revenue the hard way or pretty much close up shop.

So far as this reviewer recalls, this is the first study prepared for general distribution showing in detail the effects of an over-all tax rate limit on a given community over a considerable period of time. It should be read by everyone who has ever entered the lists *pro* or *con* over-all tax rate limitation, and certainly by anyone interested in local finance to whom over-all tax rate limitation is still just a phrase.

W. S. S.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

City Reports

Chicago's Report to the People, 1933-1946. Chicago, The Mayor, 1947. ix, 372 pp. illus.

Annual Report of the City of Mason City, 1945-1946. Mason City, Iowa, the Mayor, 1947. 24 pp. illus.

Civil Service

City of New Orleans, Department of City Civil Service, Biennial Report 1945-1946. New Orleans, the Department, 1947. 19 pp.

Annual Report 1946, Civil Service Commission, County of Wayne. Detroit, Michigan, the Commission, 1947. 37 pp.

Constitution

The Constitution and Civil Rights. By Milton R. Konvitz. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1947. x, 254 pp. \$3.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Man-

ager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1947. 20 pp. \$1.

Elections

Vote Cast in Presidential and Congressional Elections 1928-1944. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1946. 171 pp.

Fire Prevention

A Public Relations Manual for Fire Departments. Boston 10, National Fire Protection Association, 1947. 30 pp. illus. \$1. (Discounts on Quantity Orders.)

Report of the International Association of Fire Chiefs' Committee Appointed to Formulate Recommendations for Fire Prevention and Protection in Hotels. Arlington 74, Massachusetts, International Association of Fire Chiefs, 1947. 11 pp.

Housing

Housing and People. Annual Report of the Memphis Housing Authority 1945-1946. Memphis, The Authority, 1947. 32 pp.

Rehousing Urban Slum Areas. An I. S. O. Forum. Edited by Francis J. Corley. St. Louis 8, Institute of Social Order, 1946. 36 pp.

Labor

Human Relations—the Way to Labor-Management Adjustments. By Edward L. Bernays. State College, Pennsylvania State College, 1947. 12 pp.

Labor Dispute Settlement. By Paul H. Sanders, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Spring 1947. 190 pp. \$1.

Parking

Bibliography on Automobile Parking in the United States. Compiled in the Libraries of the Federal Works Agency. Washington, D. C., Public Roads Administration, 1946. 51 pp.

Parking Manual. How to Solve Community Parking Problems. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, Traffic Engineering and Safety Department, 1946. viii, 181 pp.

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1946. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1947. 24 pp.

Planning

City Planning to Meet the Problems of San Francisco. San Francisco, City Planning Commission, 1947. 8 pp.

Communitas—Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life. By Percival and Paul Goodman. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947. x, 141 pp. \$6.

Community Planning Report, Town of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Raleigh, North Carolina State Planning Board, 1947. 19 pp.

Comprehensive City Plan. St. Louis, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1947. 77 pp. maps, illus. \$5.

A Master Plan for the Borough of Verona. By Harold M. Lewis, Verona, New Jersey, Planning Board, 1946. 31 pp.

A Plan for La Jolla. By Glenn A. Rick and Charles W. Eliot. San Diego, California, City Planning Commission, 1946. 43 pp. illus.

A Program of Town Development to Find Areas of Agreement for Constructive Action. Montclair, New Jersey, Development Board, 1946. 77 pp. illus.

Proposed State Plan for New Jersey. Trenton 7, New Jersey Department of Economic Development, Bureau of Planning, 1947. 6 pp.

Thirtieth Annual Report of the City Plan Commission. St. Louis, Missouri, the Commission, 1947. 49 pp. maps.

Public Health

Milk and Food Sanitation Practice. By H. S. Adams. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1947. xi, 311 pp. \$3.25.